Harsha And Latter Kings

[600 to 800]

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in token of
admiration for his learned researches
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relating to the ancient
greatness of India.

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PREFACE

IN these volumes it is proposed to give the history in detail of India during what may be called the Mediadeval Hindu period. The history of India naturally falls into two main portions, the ancient and the modern. It is plain that the modern history of India commences from the establishment of the Slave Dynasty of Mahomedan emperors and is divisible into three periods viz. (1) the Mussalman period from about 1200 A. D. to roughly 1650 A. D. (2) the Maratha period from *1650 A. D. to 1818 A. D., the date of the fall of the Peshwas and* (3) the British period from 1818 A. D. down to the present day. The ancient history of India also sub-divides itself into three main periods which may be called the Aryan period, the Aryo-Buddhistic period and the Hindu period. The Aryan period commencing from the most ancient times variously considered to go back to from 4000 to 2000 B. C. comes down to about 300 B. C. and closes with the invasion of India by Alexander. Ancient Aryan Kahatriya Kingdoms then disappeared and the Sudra Maurya dynasty of emperors was established in India, ushering in the supremacy of Buddhism under Asoko. The second period is remarkable for the alternate triumphs of Buddhism and Aryanism politically as well as religiously, and this period may, therefore, be called not Buddhistic but Aryo-Buddhistic. It extends from 300 B. C. to 600 A. D. and closes with the final and greatest triumph of Buddhism under Harsha. The third period of ancient Indian history which it is proposed to treat of in these volumes begins with the fall of Buddhism after Harsha and the rise of new Hindu (not Aryan) kingdoms in India. Hinduism, as it is to-day, was then formed and gathering strength it finally overthrew Buddhism by the aid of the revived Purva Mimamsa philosophy which re-established the

supremacy of the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices. The long prevalence, however, of the religion of non-salughter had created sentiments among the people too strong to be suppressed; and although Buddhism was extinct in India excepting Magadha, that sentiment feared its head again in the rising popularity of Jainism and Vaishnavism and in the reviving ascendancy of the Uttara Mimamsa philosophy of the Vedanta. The first Hindu kingdoms established after the death of Harsha about 650 A. D. fell about 800 A. D. both by natural decadence which overtakes kingly dynasties after a period of about 150 to 200 years, and by other causes which will be presently discussed. About this time, however, fresh orthodox Hindu kingdoms of Rajputs arose to withstand the first onslaught of the Mahomedn religion on India under the Arabs and raised Hinduism to its climax. These kingdoms lasted from about 800 A. D. to about 1000 A. D. when they fell before the second onslaught of Mahomedanism under the Turks of Mahmud of Ghazni. He, however, retired from India excepting the Punjab and a third set of Hindu kingly dynasties ruled in India for about 200 years more and these finally fell before the third onslaught of Mahomedanism under Turks and Afgans who now settled in the country and established Mahomedan rule in India on a permanent footing. The principal Hindu period thus ranges from 600 to 1200 A. D. and it may also be called, by reference to time, the Medideval period of Indin history. But although in Hindustan, or Northern India, the Hindu period thus closed about 1200 A. D. Hindu independent kingdoms continued to rule in the Deccan for a hundred years more and these fell before the conquering expeditions of Allauddin Khilji and his general Malik Kafur in about 1300 A. D. South India rallied again for the last time and reared a strong independent Hindu kingdom viz. that of Vijayanagar, and this kingdom, after a brilliant career of about 230 years, was finally defeated and completely destroyed by the Mahomedan powers of the Deccan at the battle of Talikot in 1561 A. D.

The reader will now see that the history of the Mediaeval Hindu period which we propose to write in these volumes falls into three, sub-periods viz. first from 647 A. D. the date of Harsha's death to about 800 A. D.

the date of the fall of the empire of the Varmās of Kanauj, second from 800 to 1000 A. D. that is the period of the supremacy of the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj and third from 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. the date of the fall of the Gaharwar Rathod emperors of Kanauj. It must be mentioned here that during the whole of the Hindu period Kanauj was looked upon universally as the capital of India just as in the previous Aryo-Buddhistic period, Indian kingdoms looked up to Pātaliputra as the Urbs Prima of India. In the Deccan, these three sub-periods were distinguished by three Maratha kingly dynasties viz. the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed and the later Chālukyas of Kalyan, brought on in the rear by the Yādavas of Devagiri from 1200 to 1300 A. D. These three sub-divisions of the Hindu period we propose to treat of in three separate volumes to which a fourth volume may be added dealing with the history of the Deccan during the fourteenth century and the history of South India down to the final fall of the Hindus of Vijayanagar in 1561 A. D. In fact our history may well be described as the history of the decline and down-fall of the Aryan empire in India, like the immortal work of Gibbon on the decline and fall of the Roman empire ending with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. We have, however, called this work of ours by the more modest name of the history of Mediæval Hindu India containing as it does the history of the several Hindu independent kingdoms which ruled in India in mediæval times. This first volume contains the history of the first set of Hindu kingdoms which ruled in India from about 650 to 800 A. D. though in particular cases like that of Kāshmir it has been found advisable to bring the history down to the end of the Hindu period i. e. to 1200 A. D. We have, however, followed the example of Gibbon in one important respect and have given in Book I a detailed account of the reign of Harsha which is in a manner the basis of this history, and we have also taken a survey of the political, social and religious condition of the country in the time of that emperor, a condition which furnishes the starting point for the subsequent evolution of the Hindu people. As the reign of the Antonines was the culminating point of the Roman empire so was the reign of Harsha the culminating point of India's evolution, and

curiously enough it will be found from these pages that Harsha resembled the two great Roman emperors in many and most marked points. And it is interesting to note that as reliable materials are available for giving an account of the reign of Harsha and the *condition of his times*, as were available to Gibbon in writing about the age of the Antonines. The records of the travels of Hiuen Tsang and the life of Harsha written by the court-poet Bāṇa, supply us with two most vivid and detailed pictures drawn by eye witnesses, which are invaluable to the historian of ancient India. It is no wonder, therefore, that we have in this volume based most of our remarks on the observations of these two writers who, it is refreshing to find, corroborate each other in the minutest details.

The momentous question will here be naturally asked—a question to which the writer of these pages is expected to give a reply—what were the causes which led to the decline and down-fall of the Aryans in India? They had withstood successive invasions by the Greeks, the Sakas, the Kushans and the Huns. They had not only stubbornly resisted these invasions but freed India within a hundred years each time. What is it that made them unable to beat back the Arabs who permanently enslaved Sind in 712 A. D. and the Turks and the Afghans who finally subjected India to Mahomedan rule in 1000 and 1200 A. D.? What was it in the history of India from 500 A. D., when approximately the last foreign rule of the Huns was overthrown, down to about 1000 A.D. that sapped the strength of the Indian people and made their warriors fall like card-board sepoys before the Turks of the Ghaznavide Mahmud? The historian of India who has studied this period of about 500 years of Indian history is bound to throw light on the solution of this momentous question and we proceed to indicate our views succinctly in this matter.

The first and the foremost cause of the fall of the Indo-Aryans was the complete ascendancy gained during this period by what may be called the doctrine of the divine right of kings. During the Aryan period Indian kingdoms were looked upon as belonging to the people. In Alexander's days there were even some states where there were

no kings and which are described by Greek writers as republics. States and even kings were then known by the names of the peoples and not by the names of kingly families. Gradually during the Aryo-Buddhistic period, owing to the recurrence of foreign invasion and foreign rule, the people were less consulted in governmental concerns, the kingly power gradually became absolute and kingship was eventually looked upon as derived not from the people but from divine favour. It came to be believed that those who had performed severe austerities in their previous births became kings in this. During the Hindu period, therefore, kingdoms came to be known by the names of kingly families or by the names of the capitals they ruled. Instead of the Kurus and the Pānchālas, the Madras and the Surasenas of the Aryan period we find in Hiuen Tsang, the same kingdoms called by the names of Thanesar and Kanauj, Jālandhara and Mathurā. The mass of the people ceased to care who ruled them and were in fact ready to transfer their allegiance to any new king or kingly family which was strong or fortunate enough to establish his or its power. As explained in Chapter VII Book I at length, under such view the sentiment of patriotism had no scope and in fact did never develop in India. The sentiment of loyalty alone could flourish and did develop in this country. But this system of political philosophy conduced to the development of treason also along with loyalty and treason has consequently always been more in evidence in the history of India than in the history of the West. Not only, therefore, did the Indian people as a whole never fight against the Mahomedans but traitors were always found ready to serve as instruments in the hands of foreign invaders. For Hindu superstition looked equally upon foreigners as enjoying divine favour, as is illustrated by the history of Sind recorded in this volume. Where the feeling of nationality is well-developed and strong, not only is there less inclination towards treason, but the whole people offer stubborn resistance at each point in time and space to foreign conquest and make it almost impossible. The case in India during the Hindu period was exactly the reverse of this.

The people of India were prevented by another and more important reason from offering resistance as a whole

to the Mahomedans. It is our view that one of the three or more main causes of the fall of the Indo-Aryans was the prevalence of Buddhism in this country. As Gibbon has shown that the spread of Christianity was one of the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire, an impartial historian of India cannot help declaring that the prevalence of Buddhism in India operated in a similar manner. Buddhism worked to bring about this downfall of Indian kingdoms in more than one important direction. The high esteem in which Buddhism held sanyāsa and the fact that it allowed people of all castes, men and women, old and young, to flock to the fold of recluses and pass a life of idleness and begging spread among the people a sense of carelessness about their political condition and worldly prosperity, which materially impaired their capacity to offer resistance to foreign invaders. The history of the conquest of Sind as described in these pages will afford the most lamentable illustration of this tendency of Buddhism. Mediæval Hinduism indeed tried to eradicate this morbid feeling of the people towards sanyāsa, but the sentiment was now too deep-rooted in the minds of the people and as we shall have to relate in our second volume, the greatest philosopher of India Śankara had to recognise it and inculcate it as a tenet of the new doctrine he preached, although he tried to restrict Sanyāsa to Brahmins and to males only. The Hinduism of modern days does not respect this restriction and thousands of Sadhus of all castes, young and old, male and female live in temples and Mathas which have practically replaced the Sanghārāmas of the Buddhists so vividly described by Hiuen Tsang, and pass their time, not so much in devotional prayers as in an unceasing struggle to live by begging. Such a philosophy must act prejudicially on a people's capacity to resist and it is no wonder that the Indo-Aryans fell before the Mahomedans in a manner they had never done before.

The second direction in which the prevalence of Buddhism impaired the capacity of the people to resist was the remarkable change which the practice of the principle of Ahiṃsā effected during the Hindu period in the food of the people. Like sanyāsa, Ahiṃsā too belongs to the old Aryan religion, but Buddhism so com-

pletely identified itself with that tenet that Buddhist kings in India's early history often employed their political power to prohibit animal food along with animal sacrifice in their kingdoms. Meghavāhana of Kashmir and Śilāditya of Malwa were two most renowned kings in this respect. The latter, as Hiuen Tsang relates, gave strained water even to elephants and horses "lest insects might be killed." The efforts of Emperor Harsha in this direction were more extensive and more successful and Huien Tsang records that animal slaughter and animal food ceased throughout the Five Indies. Now there can be no question that a nation which adopts and practises abstention from animal food as a high principle deteriorates in its capacity to hold its own in the struggle of nations, unless special efforts are made to keep up the fighting capacities of the people. A non-flesh-eating people cannot possess the physical stamina, the mental grip and tenacity, the restlessness, and even the ferocity so necessary for success in *fighting* which, unhappily throughout history, characterizes the evolution of the human race. The history of Mediæval Hindu India establishes the same fact. The Hindu kingdoms again and again gave their adhesion to the old Aryan religion of animal sacrifice and again and again the sentiment of Ahimsā asserted itself till at last Hinduism accepted abstention from animal food as one of its foremost tenets, and Hindu India finally fell before Mahomedans as we shall have to relate in our third volume. Even now the fighting portions of the people of India, viz. the Rajputs and the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Jats, not to speak of the outside Gurkhas, are flesh-eating people and these in modern Indian history have certainly proved their capacity for resistance.*

Now we yield to none in our conviction that Ahimsā is one of the few highest principles which the Indian Aryans in their spiritual progress have evolved. As we have said in this volume, there is no example in the history of the world of a great people having given up animal food in the pursuit of a high spiritual ideal, involving the loss of so valuable a possession as political independence. The

*Of course flesh-eating cannot supply the want of martial instinct and several flesh-eating peoples are devoid of military qualities.

beneficial influence of Buddhism and Jainism cannot but be acknowledged in stopping animal sacrifices in this country. And if we cannot sacrifice animals to propitiate the deity, we cannot, religiously speaking, partake of animal food. The position which Jainism has taken in this respect is the only logical one and Max Muller has properly complimented Indian thinkers on their fearlessness in taking up the position at which they logically arrive. It would, therefore, be both illogical and unspiritual for us to recommend animal food much more animal sacrifices. The Vedas again do not prescribe animal sacrifices only and we can still retain our allegience to the Vedas if we make inanimate offerings to the Vedic deities in the sacrificial fire. We need not, therefore, recede from the high spiritual position at which we in our evolution have arrived. Especially, the Hindus including the Sikhs will never countenance the slaughter of cows which have been sacred to them even from Vedic times and which have become still more sacred in consequence of their association with Shri Krishna. But what we have to emphasize here is that the people of this country have as a matter of history lost their political independence, to a large extent, because of their having given up animal food in obedience to their higher spiritual aspirations. The political danger involved in this change of the food of the majority of the people was not foreseen and as we shall see in our third volume no conscious effort was made to counteract the evil resulting from the change. For, as we have said in the body of the book, we believe that even a non-flesheating people can hold their own in the struggle of nations, if they are inured to arms and lead an abstemious life. Such unfortunately ceased to be the case during the 12th and 13th centuries, and India fell an easy prey to the inroads of the more ferocious and sturdy flesh-eating peoples of the north.

We will lastly refer to the third most important cause which impaired the power of the people of India to resist foreign conquest as a whole. The ramification of the four main castes or varṇas which also took place during the Mediæval Hindu period contributed, in our view, very largely to weaken the power of the people for resistance. History shows that at the beginning of the Hindu period, there was not any extensive subdivision of the four main

castes and these again were not water-tight compartments distinguished by the interdiction of marriage and even of food. By the operation of several causes during the Hindu period main castes began to subdivide themselves into innumerable subcastes not in consequence of any Buddhistic influence, but in spite of it, till at last about the end of the Hindu period that stupendous structure of caste, with its jealousies and its prejudices, with its rigorous restrictions on food and marriage which we see today was completed. The natural result was that the people were divided and could not and did not offer that united opposition which is necessary to successfully resist foreign attempts at conquest.

What then is the message we have to give to our Hindu country-men through the pages of this history? It is this:- first and foremost conscious efforts must be made to develop the sentiment of nationality among the people of this country, overriding all the jealousies and *differences created by provincial or linguistic separation* and even by religion. Secondly, we must recognise more acutely our worldly duties and responsibilities and systematic efforts must be made, especially by those of us who do not eat flesh, to develop our physical and mental capacities for fighting. And thirdly all subcastes must be obliterated by free intercourse in food and gradually even in marriage, though of course it must be admitted that the division of the Hindu society into the four main castes or Varṇas is in-effaceable and its obliteration should not be attempted. Every religious revolution in India attempted it and failed. Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Aryanism successively tried to destroy varṇas and so did even Christianity. Each and all not only failed, but eventually succumbed to the influence of caste. Subcastes, however, have no sanction in the Hindu Śāstras and systematic efforts to obliterate them will be successful, especially because they are the growth of recent times only.

It remains for us to add a few words with regard to the contents and the printing of this volume. It consists, as stated before, of two books, the first treating of Harsha and his times, and giving the history of India from about 600 to 650 A. D. and the second giving the history of the first set of Hindu kingdoms which ruled in the whole of

India from about 650 to 800 A. D., though in particular cases as stated above, the history has been brought down to the end of the Hindu period. At the beginning of each chapter we have indicated the materials on which the account in that chapter is based. Following the example of Sir V. Smith's Early History of India we have thrown all controversial matter in notes in small type. Further, Sanskrit quotations and words have been avoided as far as possible, translations being usually given. In spelling Sanskrit words, the usual rules of transliteration have been followed (except in words like Brahmin which have become thoroughly anglicised) but mistakes have often crept in such transliteration which the indulgent reader will, it is hoped, overlook. Lastly, we have thought it expedient to give in an appendix certain inscriptions in the original, which will serve as examples and which may be read with interest by those who can read and understand Sanskrit. An index and a religious map of India of the time of Hiuen Tsang have been added and will be found useful and interesting.

POONA CITY,
1st January 1921.

C. V. VAIDYA.

BOOK I

HARSHA AND HIS TIMES

(*Circa 600–650 A. D.*)

CHAPTER I

ACCESSION OF HARSHA

[THE broad facts mentioned in these Chapters are of course taken from Sir V. Smith's now standard work on the early history of India. I have, however, studied the materials referred to by him in the original and by their help and the help of the HARSHA-CHARITA of Bāna have tried to throw additional light on many incidents in Harsha's life. On two points I have ventured, with some diffidence, to put forward views differing from those of Sir Vincent Smith. I have further added a few detailed notes embodying discussion on the most controversial points. And lastly I have attempted to determine, on data supplied by the Harsha-Charita, the exact date of the birth of Harsha.]

When the seventh century of the Christian era opened Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar was undoubtedly the premier king of Northern India. He had defeated and humbled the Huns who, notwithstanding their signal defeat in the previous century by the combined forces of India led by Yaśodharma of Malwa and Bālāditya of Magadha, were still a powerful people in the Panjab and had their kingdoms at Gāndhāra or Peshawar and at Śākala or Sialkot still in existence. He had defeated the ruling kings of Sind and Gurjara, the chief state in Rajputana, and had also conquered the kings ruling in Malwa and Gujarat at the close of the sixth century.[1] In the eastern portion of Northern India the Maukharis of Kanauj held sway very probably as far east as the Brahmaputra called Lauhitya in ancient days and southwards as far as the

1. See हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजागरः गान्धाराधिपहस्तिज्वरो लाटपाटवपाटच्चरो मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशुः। H.C., p. 174.

Vindhya range which extends acoross India into Magadha; and they were connected with him by marriage, his daughter Rājyashrī being married to Grahavarmā of Kanauj. Thus Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar was in 605 A. D. by far the most powerful king in Hindustan and he was well justified in assuming the title of Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhattāraka, whereas his father[1] and grandfather were simply Mahārājas, as the seal of Harsha found at Sonpat shows.

But within a year there was a sudden change in the fortunes of Prabhākaravardhana though not of his people or country. The Huns suddenly invaded the northern boundaries of his dominions and he had time only to send his elder son Rājyavardhana to oppose and chastise them. The Maukharis of Kanauj also appear to have fought with the Huns often, probably in conjunction with the forces of Thanesar[2]; but there was no time to call in their aid. Rājyavardhana, the elder son of Prabhākara, was a youthful prince of about nineteen or twenty at this time and must probably have been anxious to save his father the trouble of proceeding against the Huns in person, which he had often done before. Rājyavardhana proceeded with all haste towards the Huns of the Panjab, and his younger brother Harsha followed him as a matter of exercise and hunted in the jungles at the foot of the Himalayas. Rājyavardhana decisively defeated the Huns and drove them away and came back in triumph to Thanesar only to find the capital immersed in grief by the sudden death of his father.

1. Gupta inscriptions (No 52) Corp. Ins Ind. Vol III., p 231 :—
परमादित्यभक्तो महाराज-श्रीराज्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराज-श्री-आदित्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रः श्रीमहासेनागुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नः नर्षवर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तः श्रीपरमादित्यभक्तो परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीप्रभाकरवर्धनस्तस्यपुत्रः श्रीमत्यांयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः (परमभट्टारक) महाराजाधिराज-श्रीराज्यवर्धनस्तस्यानुजः महादेव्यां यशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः (परम भट्टारकम) हाराजा (धि) राज श्रीहर्षवर्धनः

2. See Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena to be noted more particularly in a note. The words important here are यो मौखरेः समितिषूद्धतहूणसैन्या वल्गद्घटा विघटयन्नुरुवारणानाम् । translated as follows :—" Breaking up the proudly stepping array of elephants belonging to the Maukhari which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huns " (page 206.) Thus the Maukharis of Kanauj seem to have had fights with the Huns, of course of the Panjab, and must be supposed to be allied in these conflicts with the troops of Thanesar whose country intervened between Kanauj and the country of the Huns.

Harsha had already returned from his hunting trip on hearing of his father's sudden illness and had been by his bedside at the time of his death. His mother Yaśomati with more than Rajput instinct had preceded her husband by burning herself on a pyre in spite of the implorations of Harsha. Thus, by a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune, Rājyavardhana found himself raised to the throne of Thanesar though rendered inconsolable by the sudden demise of both his parents. The Buddhist Rājya thought of retiring in favour of the astounded Harsha; but all such thoughts were laid aside when just at that moment a messenger arrived with news of the strangest character. The Guptas of Malwa seem to have been the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj.[1] When news spread abroad, and in ancient India, in spite of the absence of railways and telegraphs, news always spread very quickly, that Prabhākara was dead and that his son Rājya had gone on an expedition against the Hūns, Deva Gupta of Malwa thought it an opportune moment to attack the young king Grahavarmā of Kanauj. He suddenly marched on that city, killed Grahavarmā in a surprise attack and taking his queen Rājyashri a prisoner, inhumanly confined her like an ordinary deliquent, loaded with iron fetters, in a prison. He thought himself now strong enough to invade the kingdom of Thanesar itself and commenced his march towards its capital, though his ally and friend Saśānka Gupta of Karnasuvarna or Bengal, who had already marched to his assistance, had not yet arrived. It is not difficult to understand that the Guptas of Bengal like the Guptas of Malwa were smarting under the supremacy of the Maukharis of Kanauj, who had supplanted the power of the Imperial Guptas and established their sway upto the Brahmaputra, and were only waiting for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on them. It is also possible to conceive that the two Guptas were leagued against

1. See note on Maukharis. The enmity of the Guptas and the Maukharis seems to have been hereditary and it is probably this enmity which explains the sudden attak on Kanauj by Deva Gupta. The Maukharis seem to have generally had the upperhanc as appears from H. C. (Bom.) p. 252 [illegible] Who Deva Gupta was we will also try to explain in a special note.

Thanesar and Kanauj, because the kings of the latter two were now Buddhists. No doubt religious differences, in ancient India, at least in the seventh century, were not of much animosity but still such differences might accentuate political enmities already existing and the kings of Bengal and Malwa might have been united in harbouring a wish to run down Grahavarmā of Kanauj and Rājyavardhana of Thanesar who were also both young and inexperienced at this time.

Such was the grave news which reached Rājya, just raised to the throne of Thanesar and not yet rested from his fight with the Huns. He was, however, a valiant and an undaunted warrior. Setting his grief aside he started immediately, with a view to speedily reach his enemy, with a mobile force of 10,000 horse under the command of his trusted general, Bhandi, who was his compeer and cousin, being a son of his maternal uncle. In spite of entreaties he left Harsha his younger brother behind at Thanesar both as a matter of convenience and precaution. He surprised his enemy Deva Gupta by the suddenness of his movement and totally defeated him; the latter being probably killed in action. He marched on to the relief of Kanauj and met Saśānka of Bengal on the way. The wheel of destiny which was evidently working from the first in favour of Harsha now had a third turn and engulfed Rājya in its working. Saśānka was unequal to face Rājya and resolved to rid himself of his enemy by a bold stroke of treachery. He offered his submission to the youthful king of Thanesar and promised to give his daughter in marriage to him in atonement for his fault.[1] Such was the usual Kshatriya fashion to patch up differences between contending kings. Rājyavardhana, straight and confiding, without arms and with a few followers only, went to the camp of Saśānka and while at a feast was treacherously murdered by that unscrupulous king. He,

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1. The commentator on Harsha-Charita makes this suggestion which is very likely तथाहि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं कन्याप्रदानमुक्त्वा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्धनः स्वगृहे सानुचरो भुञ्जान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः ॥ H. C., p. 241.

then, without attempting to try conclusions with Rājya's army commanded by Bhandi, as suddenly marched back from Kanauj to his kingdom as he had marched to it; while a Gupta chief who was in charge of the city of Kanauj quietly released Rājyashri from confinement[1] and sent her away, in order probably to divert the attention of Bhandi.

Such were the strange, yet not improbable, circumstances which, within a few months of the year 606 A. D. (about May), placed Harsha on the throne of Thanesar at the early age of 16[2]. They have been very eloquently related by Bāna, the most famous prose writer of Sanskrit literature, who was Harsha's contemporary and protegee, and they are supported to a considerable extent by the account of Hiuen Tsang, the most famous and trustworthy traveller of China who was honoured for his Buddhist learning and piety by Harsha. Young as he was, Harsha was a man of extraordinary courage, ability and good fortune like his remote successo Akbar who fought his first battle at 14, ascended the throne of Dehli a few months later and assumed absolute power at 18. Harsha resolved at once on punishing the dastardly Gupta of Bengal and on rescuing the unfortunate queen of Kanauj. He harnessed his army of elephants, horses and men with a view not only to conquer Bengal but the whole of India, for he well surmised that the whole country would be arrayed against him, unfriended and inexperienced as he apparently was. To quote the poetic expression of Bāna he therefore asked his foreign secretary

1. कान्यकुब्जाद्गौडसंभ्रमं गुप्तितो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं निर्गतायाः राज्यवर्धन-मरण-श्रवणं . . . सर्वमश्रृणोत्परिजनतः ॥ H. C., p. 332.

2. From the Harsha-Charita some idea may be formed of the probable and exact age of Harsha. We have added a note trying to fix his exact age. But it may be noted here that Rājya appears from Harsha-Charita to have been three years older than Harsha and Harsha about two years older than Rājyashri. When Kumāra and Mādhava were given to them as companions Kumāra is said to be 18 years of age. अष्टादशवर्षवयसम् (H. C., p. 196). Rājyashri was married about a year after this and Prabhākara's death might have happened a year later. If we take Rājya to be about the same age as Kumāra Rājya seems at this time to be about 19 years of age and Harsha about 16 when he came to the throne of Thanesar.

to write to all the kings of India to *proffer either battle or submission.* He started immediately on this *Digvijaya* or expedition for the conquest of the four quarters. His first camp was pitched on the banks of the Sarasvatī, only a few miles east of Thanesar and the Patel or headman of the village came forward to receive his king at this first halting place and offered the customary *nuzzar* of a gold coin marked with a bull and specially struck anew for the occasion, on the palm of his hand. Harsha, while picking up the coin, accidentally let it go and it fell on the muddy bank of the Sarasvatī imprinting the soft soil with its impression. Persons present stood aghast at this ill omen happening at the very outset of his march for *Digvijaya,* but Harsha, with undaunted courage and wit, remarked that it was a good augur as it plainly indicated that the earth would soon be stamped with the sign of his sovereignty. To a *man of such strength and presence of mind no advice* was needed, yet his minister implored him to guard himself against possible treachery giving him a score of examples how in past times kings had been murdered by various devices by wily persons, both male and female. Thankfully accepting his minister's advice and entrusting his kingdom to the proper persons, Harsha set forth on his conquering expedition and now marched towards Kanauj. He met Bhandi on the way and with tears in his eyes heard from him again the story of Rājya's murder. He saw the army of elephants captured from the defeated king of Malwa as also the vast treasure secured and the family and courtiers of the king all put in chains in return for his savage treatment of Rājyashrī. He learned, however, from Bhandi that Rājyashrī had been let off from confinement, that she had taken refuge in the jungles of the Vindhya and that in spite of efforts made, her whereabouts were not still ascertained. In the impetuosity of his affection for Rājyashrī, Harsha bade his army halt on the banks of the Ganges and with a select retinue started off himself in search of his sister. He came by chance to the hermitage of one Divākarmitra,

a Buddhist recluse, who turned out to be a close friend of his brother-in-law, Grahavarmā. From one of his disciples he heard that a lady in affliction was going to burn herself on a pyre just in the neighbourhood and with this man's aid Harsha reached in time to save the queen of Kanauj, who, unable to bear her calamities, was going thus to put an end to her life. But the calamities of both the brother and the sister were now at an end, and they joyfully went to take leave of Divākaramitra. Rājyashrī was so impressed with the sanctity and quiet of the Āshrama of the Buddhist hermit, her husband's friend, that she implored her brother to permit her to turn a Buddhist nun. But Harsha and Divākaramitra both dissuaded her, Harsha prophetically saying that he and she would both together take the holy order when their life's business was done. Harsha then returned with his sister Rājyashrī to his camp on the bank of the Ganges.

Here ends the romantic, but not unauthentic story of Harsha and Rājyashrī given in the Harsha-Charita of Bāna, who, to the great regret of the historian and the general reader, unaccountably leaves off the story in the middle. But it is of great help to us in understanding the account recorded by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang's account has been to my mind misunderstood. It plainly seems that that account relates to what happened subsequently at Kanauj and does not relate to what had already happened at Thanesar. Harsha probably was the sole remnant in the family of the kings of Thanesar, and his brother Rājya, young as he was, had left no issue. Rājya was probably not even married.[1] Harsha, therefore, became king of Thanesar at once and without any doubt. The doubts entertained by Harsha as to whether he should be king or not as related by Hiuen Tsang must be referred to his doubts as to whether he should be king of Kanauj, The whole story becomes intelligible, if we connect these doubts with the kingdom of Kanauj. When Harsha and Rājyashrī reached Kanauj, there must have been some

1. See H. C., p. 253. फलमं रक्षात्विति भीस्ते निर्दिशेऽ पितरि ।

anxious deliberation there as to the disposal of that kingdom. From the Harsha-Charita Grahavarmā appears to have been the eldest son of his father Avantivarmā[1]. Should Rājyashrī be set aside and consigned to obscurity and some younger heir of Avantivarmā be raised to the throne? Harsha who had just brought the afflicted Rājyashrī back from a pyre and a hermitage was unwilling to do so. He was also unwilling to sieze the kingdom for himself. Grahavarmā was a Buddhist and presumably Rājyashrī also. Harsha, too, owing to his great and sudden afflictions in early age had Buddhistic inclinations though he was a declared devotee of Shiva.[2] It was thus naturally and perhaps astutely decided, that the difficulty should be solved by a reference to the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara whose temple was outside the city of Kanauj, and the Bodhisatva solved the difficulty in a congenial manner. Rājyashrī, it was ordained, should rule and Harsha should be her lieutenant. He should not ascend the throne nor take the title of the king of Kanauj but should style himself only Rājaputra Śīlāditya. According to the Chinese work, Fang Chih, Harsha henceforward "administered the kingdom in conjunction with his widowed sister" (page 338, V. Smith's E. History, 3rd edition). To my mind this explanation of the apparent hesitation of Harsha is simple and plain and it also explains why after Harsha's death there was anarchy and disorder again in the kingdom of Kanauj as will be related hereafter. At this stage it is difficult to understand how historians came to confound Thanesar and Kanauj[3] and how it is for a moment entertained that

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. See H. C., p. 200. अवान्तिवर्मण सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा.

2. *The Banksbera inscription of the 9th year of his reign declares Harsha to be* Parama Māhesvara still. Bāna also relates that when Harsha started on his Digvijaya from Thanesar, he first worshipped the god Mahesvara, see विरचय्य परमभक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ।।.H. C. page 273.

3. Probably the Records mixed up the two kingdoms and hence the misunderstanding. The words in the Records are : "The statesmen of KANAUJ, on the advice of their leading man Bani invited Harshavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. He seemed unwilling and made excuses. He then determined to take the advice of Avalokitevara," &c, I think Bāna's account and this must be put together and Harsha's unwillingness to take up the kingdom of Kanauj

the nobles of Thanesar hesitated to offer their allegiance to Harsha. The nobles of Thanesar, as related by Bāna, had at once acclaimed him king of Thanesar and it was only at Kanauj where he arrived in his conquering expedition with his widowed beloved sister Rājyashrī that doubts arose with regard to the succession to the throne of that kingdom—doubts which were finally removed as aforesaid. Harsha very naturally hereafter gave up residence at Thanesar and made Kanauj his capital which he ruled in conjunction with his sister. Between the two the fondest attachment subsisted throughout their reign. Their Buddhistic tendencies united them in religious sentiment also and it appears that during their long reign nothing happened to mar their amicable relations.

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should be explained as above. It is also probable that Vincent Smith's unwillingness to accept Kanauj as the capital of the Maukhari Grahavarma has increased the difficulty. But the fact that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj cannot, as shown in a note, be denied. The Imperial Gazetteer, too, under Kanauj unreservedly accepts the theory that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj before Harsha.

CHAPTER II

HARSHA'S EMPIRE

With the combined forces of Kanauj and Thanesar, it is not strange that Harsha succeeded in his announced resolve to subjugate Hindustan. The augury was already good. Kumārarāja of Kāmarupa (Assam) who probably was an enemy of Śaśānka sent a messenger to offer his friendship and to present him with a priceless white umbrella the sign of universal sovereignty according to Indian ideas. Harsha was gratified at this voluntary tribute and proffered friendship from Kumāra and accepted them most heartily. He then moved with his army of elephants, cavalry and infantry east and west in a continuous march of conquest, which is said to have lasted for about six years and established his empire over the kings of Northern India. It may be pointed out here that the empire of Harsha was somewhat different from Moslem empires. The idea still remained fixed to the Indian mind that a Chakravarti need not dispossess the subjugated kings of their dominions. In this respect modern empires, at least in Hindustan, differ from ancient and mediæval empires. Then it was thought enough if the conquered king offered his submission, promised to pay a nominal yearly tribute and on occasions of ceremony attended upon the imperial sovereign. Indeed it was never thought allowable to dispossess the native kings of their particular kingdoms where they had long ruled and annex them to the empire. Harsha's empire, it must therefore be remembered, was different from the empire of Mahommad Tughlak or of Aurangzeb or, for that matter, of the British which naturally resembles the Mahomedan empires immediately preceding it. In his *digvijaya* Harsha only exacted submission from the various kings of India and allowed them to rule their own territories, annexation being resorted to only in exceptionable cases.

It is to be regretted that no details of this conquest or subjugation of Northern India are available. It is not even discoverable how Harsha punished Śaśānka of Karnasuvarna or Bengal called Gauda by Bāna in his Harsha-Charita for treacherously murdering his brother Rājya. Probably he saved himself by another stroke of policy in much the same way as he had saved himself from Rājya. He was alive and ruling in 619 A. D. in which year a vassal king of his gave a village in gift to a Brahmin in Ganjam (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 144). This inscription plainly shows that he enjoyed the whole of his kingdom including those of his vassals intact. This was of course in consonance with the ideas of empire above described. Perhaps Harsha, in his Buddhistic tendencies, extended forgiveness to Śaśānka and did not exact from him the threatened reparation for murder.

The extent of the empire of Harsha can with tolerable certainty be determined. It included probably the whole of Northern India exclusive of Sind, the Panjab and Kashmir, though even over these kingdoms also he established nominal suzerainty, for he appears to have humbled all these three and exacted tribute from them.

We shall notice the rulers of different kingdoms who were contemporaneous with Harsha in the next chapter in which we intend to detail the various kingdoms visited by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. Here it will suffice to observe that Harsha subjugated almost the whole of Northern India and established a strong and well-ordered empire which lasted till his death. He founded as a memento of his being a Chakravarti, a special era of his own commencing from 606 A. D in imitation of previous emperors who had founded the Vikrama, the Śaka and the Gupta eras. Indeed the founding of an era was now looked upon as an emblem of empire and Harsha in response to this tradition founded his own era in 612 A. D. after he had completed his *Digvijaya* dating from his accession in 606 A. D.

Harsha hereafter attempted to extend his empire to the south of the Nerbudda like Samudra Gupta who had

led a conquering expedition through Southern India. But Southern India remained unconquered owing to the vigilance and valour of Harsha's great rival Chālukya Pulakeśī II of Mahārāshtra. His capital appears from inscriptions to have been Vātāpi or modern Badami but from Hiuen Tsang's description it may have been Nasik also. This king, namely, Pulakeśi II was very powerful and appears to have subjugated the whole of Southern India. He came to the throne at about the same time as Harsha *i.e.*, about 608 A. D. and soon extended his sway down to the southern coast. The description which the famous Chinese traveller gives of him, his army and his people deserves to be quoted here in extenso. "The inhabitants of Mahārāshtra) were proud, spirited and warlike; grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with those who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes went to the conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya (Harsha) was invading at this time east and west and the countries far and near were giving him allegiance but Mahārāshtra refused to become subject to him. (Records Vol. II, Watters, page 239.) The Life says, "The king always supports several thousand men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. These in a drunken condition rush against the enemy and without fail put the foe to flight. Śilāditya Rāja in spite of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, marching himself at the head of his troops could not subjugate him." (Life of H. T., p. 147.) By a strange concommittance thus, India was divided at this time into two empires ruled by two powerful kings who were a match to each other and who came to the throne at about the same time. The dividing line of these southern and northern empires was naturally the Nerbudda which divides India into two portions

differing from each other in many characteristics both of country and people.

Except in a passage which we will notice in a note, it is unfortunate that we have not an account from Bāna with regard to the actual establishment of Harsha's empire or its extent and we have to rely on the single* testimony of Hiuen Tsang. It is from him that we learn that Harsha conquered India during the course of six years "during which time neither the men nor the elephants were unharnessed," and that for 35 years more he ruled in peace and without any conflict. Of course the war with Pulakeśi II which is placed by Vincent Smith about 620 A. D. and the war with Ganjam which was waged towards the end of his reign have to be excepted. This latter war was waged against the people of Ganjam or Kangoda about 643 A. D. as has been inferred from the Life of Hiuen Tsang, page 159, where it is mentioned that "Harsha was just then returning from the subjugation of Ganjam."

It would be interesting to quote Hiuen Tsang as to how Harsha maintained this vast empire. "Having extended his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and cavalry to 1,00,000, and then reigned in peace for 30 (thirty) years. He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies. He established travellers' rests throughout his dominions. The neighbouring princes and statesmen who were zealous in good works, he called "good friends." He would not converse with those who were of a different character. The king made visits of inspection throughout his domi-

* We have however confirmatory epigraphic evidence that Harsha ruled over the whole of Northern India. See Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. VIII. p. 829, where Pulakeshi II is described as समरसंसक्त सकलोत्तरापथेश्वर-श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्ध-परमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सत्याश्रयः श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभो महाराजाधिराजः

nion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn*; but he did not go abroad through the three months of the rainy season. The king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him" (Records, Watters, Vol. I, p. 344). With such diligent habits of work and such conscientious efforts for the cultivation of high morals it is no wonder that Harsha's empire remained intact throughout his long reign and prospered to the utmost. He had his own agents or officers appointed in different regions to look to the maintenance of justice† and his orders, autocratic as they were, were for the good of his subjects and were promptly obeyed by prince and peasant. Harsha's empire thus may well be classed, like the reign of Marcus Aurelius to whom he may fitly be likened,§ among the most enlightened and happy empires, which have now and then, though rarely enough, embellished the history of the world, and stands out in brilliant relief from the surrounding chequered back ground.

The death of Harsha is placed by historians in 647 A. D. on the evidence of reliable Chinese records (see V. Smith's E. H. page 352 3rd edition), Harsha having thus ruled for about 41 years. Most probably he left no issue. We have strangely enough no mention anywhere as to who his wife was and what children he had. He had a daughter no doubt and she was married to the king of Valabhi. Had he a son, there would assuredly have been

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* *This is corroborated by Bāna also who describes the sojourn of Harsha at the first* halting place from Thaneser as follows नातिदूरेनगराडुपसरस्वति निर्मिते महति तृणमये मन्दिरे प्रस्थानमकरोत् ।

† See note following giving an extract from H.C. containing "अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपाला : ।"

§ Like Marcus Aurelius, Harsha appears to have been an emperor of the highest moral nature. From Harsha-Charita, pages 111-113, it appears that he had vowed Brahmacharya or constancy to his wedded queen, upheld truth and justice and forsworn wine and flesh. A patron of learned men he himself was a man of great learning and an author.

no disturbance after his death, and his son would have left some record, wherein as usual his mother's name would have been recited. We are therefore justified in surmising that he left no son. This fact indeed may have accentuated that intense religious consciousness which this unique emperor displayed of the emptiness of this world's riches and greatness, and under the influence of which he held those magnificent festivals of almsgiving every fifth year which have been described to us by Hiuen Tsang with such graphic detail, and in which, as perhaps no emperor in the history of the world did, Harsha gave away all his valuable treasures to Buddhist, Brahmin and Jain men of piety and learning, begging afterwards even his clothes from his sister Rājyashrī. Such was this great Emperor Harsha at once munificent, philosophic and brave.

CHAPTER III

THE KINGS AND KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE TIME OF HARSHA

The detailed information given in the records of the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who came to India in the beginning of 631 A. D. and who left it about the end of 643 A. D. supplies us with a very full account of the state of this country during the latter half of the reign of Harsha; an account which is strongly corroborated by epigraphic and other evidence available. Hiuen Tsang often gives us the names of particular kings and also invariably the characteristics of the people touching their disposition, religion and history, information which is very useful to the student of early Indian history. The records and his life composed originally in Chinese have been translated by European scholars and are available to us in an English garb. These accounts have also been subjected to scrutiny by noted researchers like Sir A. Cunningham who has succeeded in identifying most of the places and kingdoms mentioned by the Chinese traveller and subsequent scholars have added to the information thus noted by Sir A. Cunningham in his well-known book 'Ancient Geography of India.' All these scholars have thus laid students of India a history under a deep-debt of obligation which cannot but be acknowledged at this stage when we proceed to summarise this information in a table specially prepared for the perusal of the general reader. This table gives the name of each kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang in order, the name of the king if any and in a third column such valuable information about the people and the country as is thought interesting and useful. (See Note.) From this evidence and from the epigraphic evidence available we shall try in this chapter to describe the important kingdoms in India at this time, and the kings who ruled them.

To commence from the extreme north-west we have first to notice the country of Kapiśa (Kabul) the king of which was a Kshatriya and a Buddhist. Who this king was we are unable to ascertain, but he held under subjection the adjoining kingdoms of Lampāk, Nagara and Gāndhāra, all beyond the Indus. The ruling family in Gāndhāra is said by Hiuen Tsang to have been destroyed and the country and the capital were in ruins. Probably the Huns who ruled in this country in the days of Harsha's father were, after their defeat by him, conquered by Kapiśa. The next important kingdom mentioned beyond the Indus and along the Suvastu (Swat) was Udyāna or modern Swat, a stronghold of Buddhism even in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Crossing the Indus, the third important kingdom then was that of Kashmir which held under its sway the three minor kingdoms of Taxila, Sinhapura and Uraśa. The king of Kashmir, at this time, was Durlabhávardhana who according to the Rājatarangiṇī inaugurated the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang also notices that the kings of Kashmir were protected by a dragon. According to Kalhana, this king was a son-in-law of the last king of the Gonardīya dynasty, named Bālāditya. He is said by Kalhana to have come to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era or 601 A. D. and to have ruled for 36 years, which makes him a contemporary of Harsha almost from beginning to end. The dynasty founded by him was called the Karkota dynasty, Karkota being the name of a dragon by whose favour he was supposed to have risen to importance. He established his sway over the northern portion of the Panjab as well as certain hill states adjoining Kashmir and was thus a powerful king. Probably it was he who, in the difficult Himalayas, was made to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Harsha and compelled to pay tribute as mentioned by Bāna. The people of Kashmir as described by Hiuen Tsang were then exactly what they are at present, handsome and fond of learning, but strangely enough Hiuen Tsang describes them as deceitful.

The next country of importance is the one which Hiuen Tsang calls Tekka, the former capital of which was

Śākala and a former noted king of which was Mihirakula. Both Śākala and Mihirakula are names of note in the ancient history of India but this capital Śākala was now in ruins. The new capital and the name of Tekka have not been identified. It is possible to identify Tekka, however, with the Tāk of the Chachnāma and the Tāk royal family enumerated among the 36 royal families of India. The Tāk according to Todd disappeared from Indian history owing to conversion to Mahomedanism in the 13th century A. D. The Tekka kingdom appears to have held extensive sway, as Mulasthānapura (Multan) and Parvata are said by Hiuen Tsang to have been subject to Tekka in his days. All these countries were not pre-eminently Buddhist and it may be conjectured that they were the places where old Hindu worship then flourished. Mihirakula was a persecutor of Buddhists, and at Multan there was the famous temple of the Sun worshipped by devotees throughout India. Who the Tekka king was, it would be most interesting to discover. He was the most important king of the Panjab so to speak, though as his country lay between Kashmir and Thanesar, his subordination to Harsha may be inferred.

Giving up the order of Hiuen Tsang and going a little south-west we find that the next most important kingdom was Sind. The capital was beyond the Indus and it held under subjection two or three kingdoms to the west and south as far as the sea. In fine the kingdom was as extensive as the British province of Sind. Its king though powerful had been defeated by both Prabhākara and Harsha. Who this king was it is somewhat difficult to determine. He was a Śūdra by caste and a Buddhist according to Hiuen Tsang. According to the Chachanāma—a history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in the next or eighth century,—there ruled in Sind before Chacha, the Brahmin king, a race of kings whose ancestor was Dewaij and whose last king was Sāhasi Rai. After Sāhasi's death Chacha the Brahmin who was his chamberlain seized the throne and married his

widow. When this usurpation took place we can ascertain from the Chachanāma which states that in the 11th year of the Hejira, *i. e.*, in 632 *A. D.* the first invasion of Sind by Mahomedans took place. "Chacha was then on the throne and 35 years of his reign had passed." The usurpation of Chacha from this statement falls in 597 A.D. He ruled forty years, *i. e.*, till 637 A. D. when his brother Chandra succeeded him and ruled for 7 years, *i. e.*, till 644 A. D. Thus in 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Sind, Chandra must have been on the throne and he is said in the Chachanāma to have been a Buddhist. But he was a Brahmin and hence Hiuen Tsang's description that he was a Śūdra does not apply. It is not possible to suppose that Hiuen Tsang made a mistake. It should rather be said that the Chachanāma is mistaken, for much of it is fanciful and it is more a hearsay history for events before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs than the evidence of an eye-witness. Moreover if Chandra died in 644 A. D. his nephew Dahir must be taken to have come to throne in 644 A. D. He was the king when Sind was conquered by Mahamad Kasim in 712 A. D., a date which is certain and reliable. Dahir therefore must thus have been on the throne for 68 years, a somewhat long period. What may be surmised is that Sāhasi was still on the throne of Sind when Hiuen Tsang visited the country in 641 A.D. He appears to have been of the Maurya dynasty as the Chachanāma represents that the ruler of Chitor was his brother or distant relative. Chitor was not yet in the hands of the Sisodias but was ruled by a Maurya family of kings from whom, as the traditions of the Sisodias declare, the kingdom was seized by Bappā Rāval. The Mauryas were of course looked upon as Śūdras. It is not improbable that branches of the Maurya family sprung from Chandra Gupta and Aśoka still ruled in several places in India. We would therefore give greater weight to Hiuen Tsang's statement and hold that the king of Sind at this time was Sāhasi II and he may have been a Buddhist. It is also more consistent to suppose that it was Sāhasi II who was defeated by Harsha and not Chacha who was

a peculiarly fortunate king and who extended his sway north, west and south. Chacha is said to have conquered Multan and Parvata and made his boundary conterminous with that of Kashmir. As Hiuen Tsang states that Multan was subject to Tekka and not to Sind when he visited it in 641 A.D. we may take it as a further argument to hold that he visited Sind in the time of Sāhasi II. Some place the usurpation of Chacha in 631 A.D. (see Sind Gazetteer and Gazetteer of Bahawalpur) on the authority of another Mahomedan historian, but we must place it sometime after Harsha's death, *i.e.*, about 648 A.D. Chacha ruled for 40 years or till 688 and his brother Chandra till 695 and his son Dahir must have been on the throne for about 17 years when he was conquered by Kasim in 712 A. D.

The divergence between the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and Chachanāma with regard to the caste of the ruling king in Sind leaves us in a doubt as to whether Sāhasi II was then ruling there or Chandra, brother of Chacha. But there is no doubt as to who was then ruling in Valabhi or Eastern Kathiawar, the next most important kingdom in Northern India. Hiuen Tsang describes the ruler of this kingdom very vividly. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a son-in-law of Harsha. His name was Dhruvabhata. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist." He is subsequently described as often accompanying Harsha on his march and he was present at the great *alms-giving assemblage held at Prayāga* where *Hiuen* Tsang was the presiding priest in 643 A. D. Epigraphical evidence is amply corroborative in this connection. The ruling family of Valabhi was founded by Sęnāpati Bhatārka, who came from Ayodhyā, during the troubles of the Huns about the beginning of the sixth century (some place this in 485 A. D.). Their grants testify to their history and power and they were generally worshippers of Śiva though Dhruvabhata the son-in-law of Harsha was a Buddhist. It was undoubtedly a premier Kshatriya family, for the premier Kshatriya family of later Indian history, namely, the Śisodiyas of Udaipur derive their descent from this

family of Valabhi. It is therefore not improbable that Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to this king because he was a Kshatriya king, as his father had given Rājyashrī in marriage to Grahavarmā, another well-known Kshatriya king of his days. In fact, then as now, kings tried to give their daughters to kings of unquestioned Kshatriya lineage for as Bāna says (H. C., p. 200) सत्स्वप्यन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजनमेवानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः "Among other good qualities of a bridegroom wise men look to good lineage alone."

The next important kingdom was that of Gurjara in Rajputana. Its capital was Bhinmāl. It was the principal country of the Gurjaras in those days, though now the country is not Gujarat but Rajputana. "The king was a Kshatriya by caste," according to Hiuen Tsang, and "a young man celebrated for his wisdom and courage and a firm believer in Buddhism." This king must have been a son of king Vyāghramukha in whose time the noted astronomer Brahmagupta in 628 A.D. composed his treatise on astronomy. As Hiuen Tsang visited the country about 641 A. D., Vyāghramukha's successor must have been a young man. Gurjara was defeated by Prabhākara, the father of Harsha as stated in the Harsha-Charita, p. 174 (गुर्जरप्रजागरः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः). Though its conquest by Harsha in his *digvijaya* is not mentioned, it may be easily presumed. But Hiuen Tsang's description of the king suggests that like Sind and Kashmir, Gurjara was nominally subject to the overlordship of Harsha.

There was a Gurjara kingdom to the south of Valabhi also. It was very probably founded by an offshoot from the Gurjara kingdom in the north. This was the first incursion of the Gurjaras into this part of the country which in later times has always borne their name. The kingdom is called Bharukaccha by Hiuen Tsang and its capital was Bharukaccha or modern Broach on the north bank of the Nerbudda at the head of the estuary of that river. It derived its wealth from sea-borne trade. The king who ruled Bharukaccha at this time was Dadda II

whose grants found disclose the genealogy of the family and mention it clearly as a Gurjara family*. These kings were worshippers of the Sun, a fact which also connects them with the original Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmāl where there was a well-known temple of the Sun. The tree of the family is as follows:—(1) Dadda I who came into this part about 528 A. D. and founded the kingdom, (2) Jayabhata I, (3) Dadda II, contemporary of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang. He was practically an independent king though his titles are those of a Mahāsāmanta. For this king Dadda is said to have given refuge to a Valabhi king when he was attacked by Harsha. Probably it was Dhruvabhata himself who subsequently became the son-in-law of Harsha, but perhaps his father if this invasion happened during the early years of Harsha's reign.

We next go on to describe the kingdom of Molapo or Malwa as described by Hiuen Tsang. "Its capital" says he "was on the south-east side of the Mahi river. The people were intelligent, of a refined speech and of liberal education. Malwa in the south-west and Magadha in the north-east were the two countries where learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected." This flattering description applies to ancient Malwa as a whole, for Malwa throughout Sanskrit literature bears a high reputation for learning. But Molapo must be identified with Western Malwa (as at present constituted politically) as the capital is said to be near the Mahi river, which is even now a river of Western Malwa as well as Gujarat. It may perhaps have been Dhārānagari noted in the next few centuries as the seat of the Paramāras, the liberal patrons of learning and learned men. Dhārā is mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription of Īśvaravarmā (Gupta Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 51, p. 230), and thus must have been in existence even at that time. Whatever the capital may have been, this Malwa of Hiuen Tsang owing to the mention of the Mahi is undoubtedly

* विपुल-गुर्जर-नृपान्वय-प्रदीपतो &c. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII., No. 63).

Western Malwa; Eastern Malwa, separated from it by the Chambal river, being mentioned by him as Ujjain of which we shall speak presently. Who the king of this Western Malwa was it does not clearly appear. Hiuen Tsang mentions that from the records of this kingdom, about sixty years before his arrival, there ruled here a Śilāditya who was famous for his rare kindness and compassion. He was a Buddhist and had a temple of Buddha built near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption." (See Records, Watters, Vol. II, p. 242.) The life adds, "He would not injure even a fly. He caused the water given to the horses and elephants to be strained, unless he should destroy the life of a water-insect. He impressed on the people of the country to avoid taking life. Thus for fifty years he continued on the throne,' p. 148. If this king ruled Western Malwa for fifty years, sixty years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 640 A. D., he must be taken to have come to the throne in 530 A. D. or somewhere about it and died in 580. At this time, therefore, his grandson or perhaps great-grandson must, have been ruling in Western Malwa. Who this Śilāditya was we shall discuss in a note.

Next we come to the kingdom called Ujjain from its capital. This kingdom was pre-eminently Malwa and should have been so called. But Hiuen Tsang coming to Western Malwa first and finding it completely Buddhist, gave it the name of Malwa and gave to the next kingdom which was ruled by a Brahmin and which was not wholly Buddhist the name of Ujjain. Ujjain, however, was Malwa pre-eminently. It was the same Ujjain as is famous in the old Buddhist and Hindu literatures. There is no doubt about its identity for Hiuen Tsang reports that Aśoka in his youth had built outside the city a hell (jail) for the punishment of evil-doers. The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsang visited it was a Brahmin. He was perhaps appointed by Harsha or had seized the vacant kingdom and had been tolerated by him. Of the

Gupta family which appears to have ruled here in the beginning of Harsha's reign we shall speak in a note. It may be stated that the Gupta emperors of Pātaliputra and Ayodhyā conquered Malwa and Ujjain about 400 A. D., under Chandra Gupta II. His successors ruled Malwa as well as Kathiawar and Gujarat as their coins testify. With Skanda Gupta the regular Gupta line ceased. It was overthrown as is well-known by the Huns. A Budha Gupta, however, ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda about 480-500 A.D. as appears from the Eran inscription and also from his coins. Other branches of the Guptas founded by Gupta chiefs must have established themselves in the several provinces of their empire and we may take it that the family mentioned in the Aphsad plate ruled in Malwa at Ujjain until Deva Gupta the contemporary of Rājya was killed in the battle with him and the kingdom was seized by Harsha in 606 A. D. After that date and between 640 A. D. a Brahmin king may have set himself up or been appointed in Malwa.

After the fall of the Gupta power and of Budha Gupta, who ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, other kingdoms might have been formed in this part of the country besides Malwa or Ujjain and Hiuen Tsang mentions two, namely, Chichito or Zajoti in what is now Bundelkhand the capital being probably at Eran and Maheśvarapura which has been identified by many with Gwalior (or perhaps Narwar). All these three kingdoms go by the name of their capitals and were ruled by Brahmin kings who may well be originally only Gupta governors subsequently assuming kingly status.*

We have thus far noticed the important kingdoms in the west and south of the empire of Harsha and mentioned the names and other particulars of the kings who ruled them. They were, to repeat, the kingdoms of Kabul,

1. The king in Chichito might have been a descendant of the Brahmin king Sankshobha of the Parivrājaka family whose inscription is given at 25 in the Corp. Ins., Vol. III, p. 115, or he may have been a descendant of Dhyānavishu whose inscription has been found at Eran.

Kashmir, Tekka (Panjab), Sind, Valabhi, Gurjara, Broach, Malwa, Ujjain, Bundelkhand and Gwalior. Durlabhavardhana ruled in Kashmir and Sāhasi II in Sind. At Valabhi the premier Kshatriya king Dhruvabhaṭa ruled and he was the son-in-law of Harsha. In Gurjara north or Rajputana and in Gurjara south or Broach ruled two Kshatriya kings, *viz.*, a son of Vyāghramukha and Dadda II, respectively. In what is Central India as constituted at present three kingdoms, named Ujjain, Zajoti, and Maheśvarapura, besides Molapo or Western Malwa, were ruled by three Brahmin kings. All these were probably actually included in Harsha's empire and Valabhi and Broach were practically so, while Gurjara, Sind, Kashmir and Tekka were nominally under Harsha's suzerainty. In Molapo, which was also practically under the rule of Harsha, a grandson of a Śilāditya ruled with certainty.

Before going on to describe the kingdoms of Mid-India we must notice a small kingdom not visited by Hiuen Tsang, the ruler of which in the beginning of the next or 8th century laid the foundation of the Mewad kingdom so noted in modern history for its great heroism and its constancy to Rajput traditions. This was the small kingdom of Eder in the south-west of Mewad, founded by a son of Gūhāditya of the Valabhi family of Kshatriyas, in the middle of the sixth century. At this time, *i. e.*, in the first half of the seventh century, the ruler in this family was named Nāgāditya Śilāditya who is mentioned in an inscription dated 646 A. D. (see Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewad Agency, Vol. II) In this family is said to have been born Bappā Rāwal who in the beginning of the 8th century seized Chitod and inaugurated the Mewad family of Rajputs as we shall have to relate hereafter. The origin of the Mewad family thus traced to the Valabhi kings is doubted by many historians, for reasons which we shall have to discuss in our second volume.

We now come to Mid-India or what is practically the present United Provinces. The valley of the Ganges and the Jumna has been the seat of Indo-Aryan civili-

zation from ancient times. Indo-Aryan mental and physical power was developed here and from here the Aryans dominated so to speak Northern India or Hindustan as it is usually called. This part in ancient times was called the Madhya Deśa from which Śri Kṛishṇa says in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā parva) "the Yādavas were so sorry to be ousted and whither they pined so vehemently to return." The same name continued down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who also calls it Mid-India and Varāhamihira also makes this part the central division of India. The climate of this part of the country is or rather was remarkably dry and healthy in those days, when it was not cut up by numerous canals taken out from the Jumna and the Ganges, which while they have added to the fertility of the land and insured it against famine, have created a malarial climate and detracted much from its salubrity. The country then was and still is very fertile and hence numerous peoples or kingdoms flourished in this very compact territory and rose to pre-eminence in ancient times. The principal kingdoms here at this time were Thanesar and Kanauj both ruled by one and the same king Harsha. These two kingdoms were in fact the ancient Kuru and Pānchāla kingdoms united again as they once were under Janamejaya and the combination was naturally so powerful that Harsha like Janamejaya easily became the emperor of Hindustan. As Harsha usually lived at Kanauj that city now rose to the importance, and assumed the status, of the capital of India. This status it retained throughout the mediæval period of Indian history of which we are treating. It had already risen into some importance during the days of the Maukhari kings Īśāna, Śarva and Avantivarmā who ruled there during the latter half of the sixth century and who established overlordship over the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, while the Vardhanas of Thanesar established overlordship over the western. The union of Thanesar and Kanauj at once raised Kanauj* to the position of the capital of India now lost

* Kanauj is now a mere Tahsil or Taluka town in the Farukhabad District, U. P. and nothing but debris remains to attest its former greatness.

completely by Pātaliputra. The latter city when Hiuen Tsang visited it was in ruins and almost deserted. It had finished its rôle. Chandragupta Maurya had raised it to the position of the capital of India and Aśoka had confirmed it. Subsequent dynasties of emperors down to the Guptas respected that position, but when the Guptas moved out of it for the first time to Ayodhyā for a sort of change, its decline began, and when Harsha established the court of his empire at Kanauj, that position was finally lost by it after having thus retained it for about 800 years, *i. e.* from 300 B.C. to 500 A.D. Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India during the rest of the period of the early history of India. Delhi was almost a village at this time. It had shone once only during the brief reign of the Pāndavas in the beginning of Indian history and had then retired into shade. It came into view again in the 10th century A.D. with Anangapāla who claimed to be a descendant of the Pāndavas but remained inferior to Kanauj till the 12th century when it threw Kanauj into shade with the victory of Prithvirāja over Jayachand. The Mahomedans who finally conquered Prithvirāja made Delhi the chief seat of their rule and Delhi has since remained the capital of the Indian empire down to this day.

This short account of the shifting of the centre of political gravity westward along the Gangetic valley from Pātaliputra to Kanauj and from Kanauj to Delhi will be found interesting. In the interval between 600 and 1200 A. D., Kanauj was the accepted capital of India as Arab historians of this time also testify; for when they speak of the capital of Hind they always refer to Kanauj. The halo of the empire of Harsha hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to imperial power to establish his dynasty there during this period as had happened at Pātaliputra during the centuries preceding and as happened at Delhi during the centuries following. The city of Kanauj consequently acquired grandeur and accumulated riches commensurate with its dignity. It was at the height of its splendour in the time of Mahmud of

Ghazni, who himself observed that it could justly boast to have no equal and that it was full of palaces and temples built of marble. Even when Hiuen Tsang visited it, it was already a great city. It was, says he, five miles long and one mile broad, was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere. "There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water and in it were collected rarities from strange lands." Kanauj was so grand in the 8th century that the Chachanāma uses (Trans. p. 52) "You want Kanauj" as a proverb meaning you want the impossible.

In this city reigned Harsha the patron of Bāna and Hiuen Tsang. Thanesar or Śrīkaṇṭha as the country is called by Bāṇa, and Kanauj were kingdoms directly under Harsha. Hiuen Tsang mentions many kingdoms in the Gangetic valley besides these two and most of them also must have been directly under Harsha's rule. Pāriyātra or modern Alwar was however under a king of the Vaiśya caste as also Śrughna (about Hardwar) and Matipura where a Sūdra king ruled, and Brahmapura or modern Garhwal. But Ahicchatra and Pilośana, Sānkāśya and Ayodhyā, Allahabad and Kauśāmbi where no kings are mentioned by Hiuen Tsang were probably under the direct sway of Harsha. Along the foot of the Himalayas were small kingdoms like Śrāvasti and Kapilvastu, Rāmagrāma and Kuśīnagara where petty chiefs ruled. These places were places of Buddhist worship and hence kept up some population; otherwise strangely enough the country was desolate. Many cultivable and fertile parts of India were indeed in ancient times under jungles which have been cleared only under the British rule. Civilization and prosperity followed in ancient days the course of the Ganges and the Jumna, and away from them were jungles infested by elephants. The incessant internecine fights between opposing kings prevented the growth of overflowing population and the means of communication being limited, the export of grain from India must then have been almost nil. Hence the need for extension of cultiva-

tion was not felt and it is no wonder that even the empire of Harsha was bordered, so to speak, on both sides by wide fringes of jungles along the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhyas on the south. These jungles provided the immense number of elephants required for the armies of contending kings. Considering this state of the country, therefore, we need not be surprised that there were 60,000 elephants in the army of the emperor Harsha alone, while there must have been thousands more in those of other kings.

We will now proceed to describe the kingdoms to the east of Mid-India, or in what are now the provinces of Behar and Bengal. The first kingdom to notice was that of Magadha. Hiuen Tsang relates that before his time a king named Pūrnavarmā who was supposed to be a descendant of Aśoka ruled in Magadha where he had rebuilt the wall round the Bodhi tree which had been thrown down by Śaśānka king of Karṇasuvarṇa. Magadha was the chief place of Buddhist worship. It contained the Bodhi tree and Buddha's footprint stone. Besides, the Nālandā monastery, the chief seat of Buddhist learning was in Magadha. Beyond Magadha were Hiraṇyaparvata or Monghyr and Champā or Bhagalpur, Kajugal or Rājmahāl and Paundravardhana or Rangpur ruled by kings. of whom we have no information. Beyond was Kāmarupa or Assam which was ruled at this time by Bhāskaravarmā whose other name was Kumāra. He was a friend and ally of Harsha from the first as we have already described. Strangely enough the accounts of this king given by Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa, two contemporary witnesses agree almost to the last detail. At page 186 of the Records, Vol. II, (Watters) we read, "The reigning king who was a Brahmin by caste and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva was named Bhāskaravarmā, his other name was Kumāra. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1,000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning. Men of ability came from afar to study here. The king though not a Buddhist respected accomplished

Śramaṇas," Bāṇa at page 294, H. C., says.—महावराहसंपर्कसंभृतगर्भाया भगवत्या भुवो नरको नाम सूनुः। तस्यान्वये भगदत्त-पुष्पदत्त-वज्रदत्त प्रभृतिषु व्यतीतेषु बहुषु महीपालेषु प्रपौत्रो भूतिवर्मणः पौत्रो चंद्रमुखवर्मणः पुत्रो स्थितवर्मणः सुस्थितवर्मा नाम महाराजाधिराजो जज्ञे। तस्यच भास्करवर्मा नाम तनयः कुमारः समभवत्। Although the name Bhāskaravarmā sounds as that of a Kshatriya his being a Brahmin as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang may be accepted to be correct. Brahmins who followed the Kshatriya profession often took a Kshatriya name and those who followed Vaiśya professions took a Vaiśya name. The fame of Assam for learning continued for some centuries more down to the days of Śankara. The legendary origin of the family is, of course, unhistorical, but that it was a long-continued family may be believed as Assam, being out of the way, must have remained undisturbed by the ambitions of conquering heroes. We shall have to speak of this Kumāra again as we have spoken of him before.

We now come to the three kingdoms into which Bengal proper was then divided, namely, Karnasuvarna (Murshidabad), Samataṭa (Eastern Bengal) and Tāmralipti (Midnapur). These were prosperous countries even in Hiuen Tsang's time. The king in Karṇasuvarṇa before Hiuen Tsang visited it was Śaśānka or Narendragupta already mentioned as the man who treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana and was a persecutor of Buddhism. Probably he was pardoned by Harsha, as he *is* shown by a Ganjam inscription to be alive and reigning in 619 A. D. But after his death his kingdom seems to have been given to the Kumārarāja of Assam. For an undated inscription of Bhāskaravarmā, published in the Dacca Review 1913 (noted by V. Smith), was issued from Karnasuvarna. Hiuen Tsang does not mention the king ruling in Karnasuvarna when he visited it; but the above surmise is supportable also from the statement of Bāṇa, that Harsha anointed Kumārarāja a king (अत्र देवेन अभिषिक्तः कुमारः H. C., p. 139). In Samataṭa or Eastern Bengal a Brahmin family ruled to which belonged a great Buddhist saint visited by Hiuen Tsang. No particulars of the

king at Tāmralipti are mentioned. All these kingdoms were, of course, subordinate to Harsha. It is to be noticed that Hiuen Tsang does not asssign the name of Gauda to any of these kingdoms, though the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, Śaśānka, is described by Bāna as the king of Gauda. Gauda is a noted name in Sanskrit literature for the learned men of Gauda have always maintained a peculiar style and school of thought of their own. Probably the name Gauda applied to all these three kingdoms, as also the name Vanga which is still more ancient and which is not noted by Hiuen Tsang.

Lastly in Northern India and in subordination to Harsha we have to mention the kingdom of Odra or Orissa and the kingdom of Kongadu or Ganjam along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. These were Indo-Aryan kingdoms on the border of the Dravidian Kalinga kingdom to the south. With Kongadu Hiuen Tsang notices the change in language. (Curiously enough their written language was the same as that of India.) With Kalinga the change in the language was complete. "In talk and manners they differed from Mid-India" (Watters, Vol. II, p. 198). The kings in these two countries are not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, nor can we find them out with certainty. According to the palm leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannath in Cuttuck, Orissa was under the Kesari dynasty from the 7th to the 12th Century A. D., but it is probable that that dynasty established itself there after the time of Harsha. (See Cuttuck Gazetteer.)

This completes the list of important kingdoms* in Northern India which constituted the empire of Harsha. As we have already remarked, contemporaneous with this northern empire of Harsha, there was at this time the southern empire of Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II of Mahārāshtra, which included all the kingdoms in the Deccan and South India. These kingdoms were, most of them, visited by Hiuen Tsang and have been described by

* Nepal is omitted as at this time, it was subordinate to Tibet and it does not clearly appear that it was subordinate to Harsha.

NOTES.

1—THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ.

Corp. Ins. Vol. III, Aśirgad Seal, No. 47 (page 219), gives us a seal inscription of Śarvavarmā and this contains, in my view, the genealogy, of the kings of Kanauj. Unfortunately in these records the recorders never trouble themselves to mention the kingdom where the particular kings ruled. Perhaps they omit the name of the kingdom because they think it so well known, but this omission causes us at this distance of time a great deal of doubt and difficulty. It is from the Harsha-Charita that we know that the Maukharis ruled in Kanauj; for Grahavarmā came from there and was killed there and Rājyashri was also imprisoned there. This seal gives the following genealogy:—1. Mahārāja Harivarmā; 2. Mahārāja Ādityavarmā; 3 Mahārāja Iśvaravarmā, born of Harsha Guptā; 4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Iśānavarmā, born of Upaguptā; 5. *Parama Māheśvara Mahārājādhirāja* Sarvavarmā Maukhari. This line of the seal may be continued by the help of the Aphsad inscription of the later Guptas (p. 203, Corp. Ins., Vol. III); 6. Susthitavarmā, and by the aid of the Deo Barnak inscription (p. 217 ditto); 7 Avantivarmā. This Deo Barnak inscription is of one Jīvita Gupta and mentions the confirmation of the grant of the village of Vārunika (now Deo Barnak), a village about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad district of Bengal to a sun-worshipper, first made by Bālāditya and subsequently confirmed by Śarvavarmā and again by Avantivarmā both styled Parameśvara. These two are evidently the kings of the Maukhari line of Kanauj. We may by the help of these inscriptions, give the Maukhari line of kings with the Gupta line as follows:—

The Maukharis.	The Guptas.
1. Harivarmā	1. *Krishna Gupta.*
2. Ādityavarmā, married Harsha Guptā.	2. *Harsha Gupta.*
3. Īśvaravarmā, married Upaguptā.	3. Jīvita Gupta.
4. Īśānavarmā	4. Kumāra Gupta, fought with Īśānvarmā.
5. Śarvavarmā Maukhari.	5. Dāmodara Gupta, killed in fight with Maukhari.
6. Susthitavarmā.	6. Mahāsena Gupta, fought with Susthita.
7. Avantivarmā	
8. Grahavarmā.	7. Mādhava Gupta.

Three generations of the Guptas Kumāra, Dāmodara and Mahāsena are explicitly said in the Aphsad inscription to have fought with three

generations of the Maukharis, Īśāna, Śarva and Susthita; the first two names of which we find in the Ashirgad seal inscription of Śarva also. Ādityavarmā is said, in the seal, to have married Harsha Guptā, and she appears to have been a sister of the contemporaneous Harsha Gupta. Mahāsena Gupta must be taken to have lived long or Susthita to have a short reign, hence his generation covers two of the Varmās which is not improbable. Grahavarmā and Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsena being contemporaneous with and almost of the same age as Harsha.

It is possible to deduce a few salient facts about the history of this line of Maukhari kings from these three records, namely the Aphsad inscription, the Ashirgad seal and the Deo Barnak inscription (Corp. Ins., Vol. III, Nos. 42, 47 and 46). In the first place this line of kings became powerful in the days of Īśānavarmā who for the first time is called Mahārājādhirāja, the three before him being called Mahārājas only in the Ashirgad seal. The seal assigns the title Maukhari for the first time to his son Śarvavarmā. In the Aphsad inscription also while his father Īśānavarmā is mentioned by name, his son is called by the simple name of the Maukhari. Thus Śarvavarmā appears to have been a greater king than his father and he and probably his father also fought with the Huns. His dominions or rather overlordship extended south upto Ashirad where his seal was discovered and also east as far as Bengal where as stated in the Deo Barnak inscription he confirmed a grant given by Bālāditya of Magadha to a sun-temple which indicates that the dominion of Bālāditya's successors had been substituted by that of Śarvavarmā of Kanauj. The same grant was confirmed by the grandson of Śarvavarmā named Avantivarmā, the father of Grahavarmā brother-in-law of Harsha.

We have now to consider the inscriptions of the Maukhari king named Anantavarmā given in Corp. Ins. Vol. III. In these the pedigree given extends only over three names and these are Yajñavarmā, Śārdūlavarmā and Anantavarmā. These seem to be a branch of the same family, for they call themselves Maukharis. But they are distinct from the Kanauj family and are of much less importance. For the greatest of the three Śārdūla is no more than a Mahāsāmanta (see Corp. Ins., Vol. III, No. 48: श्री-शार्दूल इति प्रतिहित-पेशाः सामन्तचूडामणिः) while Śarvavarmā and Īśanavarmā are styled in the seal Mahārājādhirāja (see No.47 *ibid*). These Maukharis appear to be a later branch established in the Gayā district, where their inscriptions have been found and probably belong to a date later than that of Harsha.

2.—Devagupta of Malwa.

We have next to determine who Deva Gupta or rather the Mālava king was who attacked Grahavarmā of Kanauj and who was killed in the battle with Rājya. The difficulties in this connection are numerous and

troublesome. In the first place Bāṇa in the Harsha Charita distinctly says that it was a king of Mālava who attacked Kanauj: देवो ग्रहवर्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकं त्याजितः (H. C., p. 251); also कालायसनिगडनिर्धलीकृत-चरणयुगलं सकलमालवराजलोकम् (H. C., p. 303). Clearly therefore a king of Mālava attacked Grahavarmā, and Bhandi showed Harsha the *people* of that Mālava king enchained (the king himself being probably killed after his defeat by Rājya.) Now in the Madhubana inscription of Harsha Rājya is said to have punished kings like Deva Gupta. Rājya in his short life fought only two battles, one with the Huns and the other with the Mālava king who had murdered Grahavarmā. Putting the two together the name of this Mālava king, therefore, was clearly Deva Gupta. Now in the Aphsad inscription above mentioned, we have the names of members of a Gupta family who were the hereditary enemies of the Varmās of Kanauj and it contains also the name of Mādhava, the companion of Harsha. This family may, therefore, be taken to be the family of the Guptas of Mālava though in this inscription the country of the Guptas is not mentioned, nor unfortunately the name of Deva Gupta. And we may accept the ingenious guess made by Dr. Hoernle (J. R. A. S. 1904) that Deva Gupta was Mādhava's brother, with some changes to be noted further on.

The fact is there is no other explanation possible. The Harsha-Charita plainly states that the two princes, Kumāra and Mādhava, called Guptas who were given by Prabhākaravardhana to his sons, Rājya and Harsha, to be their companions were मालवराजपुत्रौ or sons of the king of Mālava. This Mādhava Gupta who was the companion of Harsha is very probably the Mādhava Gupta of the Aphsad inscription for he is expressly described there to be desirous of the company* of Harsha. (श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवाञ्छया च.) Moreover from the description of Mādhava as a tall imposing fair young man, given by Bāṇa in the Harsha-Charita in detail differing from that of Kumāra one is inclined to infer that Bāṇa had in his mind the fact that this Mādhava subsequently became a well-known king. But a difficulty presents itself here namely, how could the king of Mālava attack Grahavarmā, while the king's own brothers were the attendants of Rājya and Harsha, the brother-in-law of Grahavarmā? The guess of Dr. Hoernle seems to be acceptable that they were on inimical terms and it may be supplemented by the suggestion that Kumāra and Mādhava were not merely the younger brothers of Deva Gupta, but were his half-brothers or sons by another wife of Mahāsena Gupta. There is always ill-filling even in ordinary families between half-brothers, and in royal families in India such brothers are usually at deadly enmity. By this suggestion is also removed the difficulty of explaining why the sons of a king were given as companions of the sons of another king. Kumāra and Mādhava had no right to the throne being younger sons and their presence in Mālava

* If we take this, to mean "fight" with Harsha, he is still Harsha's contemporary.

was not very palatable to the eldest son and heir-apparent Deva Gupta who was most likely an impetuous man. In fine the story of the Mālavarāja in connection with Harsha may be told thus. A Gupta family starting from Krishṇa Gupta reigned at Ujjain or some other place in Mālava and were the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj. They were connected by marriage with the Vardhana family of Thanesar, Prabhākaravardhana's mother Mahāsena Guptā (mentioned in the Sonpat seal of Harsha) being a sister of Mahāsena Gupta of Malwa. The last had a long reign and had his eldest son Deva Gupta by one wife and two younger sons Kumāra and Mādhava by another wife. These he sent to his sister's son Prabhākara to seek their fortune. Mahāsena Gupta died a little before Prabhākara and Deva Gupta became king of Malwa. When Prabhākara died suddenly and Rājya and Harsha and Grahavarmā were left young and inexperienced, Deva Gupta, as usual with his family, suddenly attacked Grahavarmā and killed him. Rājya with Bhandi and Kumāra, half-brother of Deva Gupta, attacked Deva Gupta and defeated him and seized all his treasure and put his men and family in chains for his dastardly treatment of Rājyashrī. Rājya and Kumāra both being subsequently killed treacherously by Saśānka Harsha became king of Thanesar and came and took from Bhandi the charge of the booty and prisoners and the army of elephants of the Mālava king. It seems probable that for the great crime of Deva Gupta the kingdom of Mālava was seized by Harsha for a time at least and not given to Mādhava to whom it properly belonged. It appears so clearly from the Harsha-Charita where Bāṇa says : अथाशेष्य तत्सर्वमवनिपतिः स्वीकर्तुं यथाधिकारमादिदेशाध्यक्षान् which means that the booty including the throne or सिंहासन was taken possession of by Harsha and handed over to his officers and not to Mādhava who must have been retained by Harsha as his companion during all the time he conquered Northern India and founded his empire. Subsequently, as Emperor, Harsha must have put Mādhava in possession of some eastern kingdom on the bank of the Ganges for the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena and other inscriptions seems to indicate that Ādityasena's country lay in Bengal. Since this family in Bengal had nothing to do with Deva Gupta his name does not appear in the genealogy of Ādityasena. For, as Mādhava did not succeed to Deva Gupta, his half-brother, at all, Deva Gupta's name has properly been omitted. In the kingdom of Ujjain when Hiuen Tsang visited it there was a Brahmin king ruling. This Brahmin king may either have seated himself on the vacant throne being tolerated by Harsha or he may even have been appointed by Harsha the Emperor as Mātṛigupta was appointed to Kashmir by Yaśodharma Vikramāditya of the Mandsaur inscription. Thus the difficulty created by the mention of a Brahmin king in Ujjain by Hiuen Tsang is also removed and reconciled with the story of the Harsha-Charita. Or we may take Deva Gupta's capital to be some other town like Vidiśā which is also a portion of Malwa. Both Bāṇa and

Hiuen Tsang are contemporary and reliable narrators and their statements can only be reconciled in this way.

The line of Mālava kings so to say became extinct with Deva Gupta and the line of the Guptas of Magadha, as the Cor. Ins., Vol. III styles it, continued in the person of Mādhava. We may give the two lines as follows from the Aphsad and other inscriptions given in this volume and even assign some dates with corroboration, as one inscription contains a date 66, presumably of the Harsha Era. We give the Thanesar and Kanauj lines also for comparison.

Thanesar. (Sonpat seal No. 52)	Malwa. (Aphsad inscription and Deo Barnak inscription)	Kanauj. (Aphsad inscription and Ashirgad seal)
	1 Kṛishṇa Gupta	
	2 Harsha Gupta	
	3 Jīvita Gupta fights with	1 Īśvaravarmā
1 Rājyavardhana	4 Kumāra Gupta "	2 Īśānavarmā
2 Ādityavardhana m. Mahāsena Guptā	5 Dāmodara Gupta "	3 Sarvavarmā
3 Prabhākaravardhana	6 Mahasena Gupta "	4 Susthitavarmā
		5 Avantivarmā
Rājyavardhana killed 606 A.D. / Harshavardhana king 606 A.D.	Deva Gupta killed 606 A.D. (Malwa kingdom line closed) / Mādhava Gupta of Magadha	6 Grahavarmā killed 606 A.D.
	Ādityasenā A.D. 672	
	Deva Gupta	
	Vishṇu Gupta	
	Jīvita Gupta	

Corp. Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 42, mentions the erection of an image at Nālandā in the regin of Ādityasena in the year 66 (of Harsha Era presumably) *i. e.* 672 A. D., which is not inconsistent with the story we have sketched above. Mādhava may either be supposed to have come to power and established himself in Magadha after Harsha's death or during his lifetime as stated before.

The theory of Dr. Hoernle about Deva Gupta is objected to by Pandurang Shastri Parakhi in his Marathi Life of Harsha. He thinks that Mahāsena Guptā could not have been the sister of Mahāsena Gupta as in that case the sons of the latter Kumāra and Mādhava become the brothers of Prabhākaravardhana being his maternal uncle's sons and therefore uncles of Rājya and Harsha and could not therefore have bowed to them when introduced, as stated by Bāṇa. But this is

not correct. Although seniors, even a king's sons, when they come in a subordinate position, have to bow to the master king. The master-king and his sons are above all relations in point of etiquette. I have seen even a grand-father bow to his daughter's son, the latter being the king. Secondly, Parakhi does not believe that Deva Gupta was Mahāsena Gupta's son, but there can be no other person (if we bear in mind the Madhuban inscription of Harsha), intended by Bāṇa when he says that it was a Mālava Rāja who attacked Grahavarmā. Thirdly, Vincent Smith also does not accept Dr. Hoernle's theory as a whole and especially that part of it which brings in Śilāditya of Malwa mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. This last portion of Dr. Hoernle's theory, no doubt, has to be abandoned as I shall show later on. In fact, Śilāditya cannot come in to attack Grahavarmā, for his Malwa would be different from the Malwa of Deva Gupta. Bāṇa must be taken to use the word Mālava in one sense only though the Mālava of Hiuen Tsang and the Mālava of Bāṇa may be taken to be different. What I mean is this Bāṇa says that Kumāra and Mādhava were the sons of a Mālava king (मालवराजपुत्रौ) and that Grahavarmā was killed by मालवराज or king of Mālava who was himself subsequently defeated by Rājya in battle. In these two statements of Bāṇa Mālava must mean the same kingdom and not different kingdoms as Dr. Hoernle takes by introducing Silāditya along with Deva Gupta. Bāṇa's statements clearly require that Kumāra and Mādhava were brothers of Deva Gupta and that they belonged to the same kingdom, which may be taken to be Ujjain or some other town in eastern Malwa. Thus, we have to give up that part of Dr. Hoernle's theory which brings in Śilāditya. We have also to give up the further portion of his theory which makes Yaśomatī (Queen of Prabhākaravardhana), a sister of Śilāditya and daugher of Yaśodharma. In the first place we find names of a sister and brother have some portion in common but not of a father and daughter. And, secondly and more particularly when Yaśomatī's brother is described by Bāṇa as bringing Bhandi to Prabhākara he simply says यशोमत्या भ्राता. Had he been a king and a king of so great a fame at Śilāditya, Bāṇa the contemporary of Harsha would certainly have mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It appears from this plain reference that Yaśomatī was not the daughter of a great king but some Sāmanta king and hence her brother is mentioned without any distinction.* Moreover from Yaśomatī's lamentation at the time of burning herself (in 606 A. D.) her father and mother appear to have been then still alive; see H. C., page 230. Under this view, therefore, Bhandi is not the son of a great king, but a mere Sāmanta and expects not to rise to a higher position than that of a Commander-in-Chief. And,

* Even if the epithet महाभूभृत्कुलोत्पन्ना applied to यशोमती by Bāṇa (H. C., p. 176) be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhandi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal epithets. His plain mention requires this as also his handing over his son to seek his for une

further we are not reduced to the necessity of believing that he fought against his own father Śilāditya and had the hardihood or inhumanity to present to Harsha the family and dependents enchained, and the treasures and even the throne of his own father without any feeling. I think this part of Dr. Hoernle's theory must be abandoned for we avoid a great many difficulties by making Yaśomatī not the sister of Śilāditya of Malwa but of some Sāmanta ruler. His theory, however, that Deva Gupta was a brother of Kumāra and Mādhava seems to me to be acceptable and explains Bāṇa's references properly as shown above.

3.—Sir Vincent Smith on the Maukharis and the Guptas.

At page 312 (3rd edn.) of his Early History of India Sir Vincent Smith observes: "These 'later Guptas of Magadha,' as they are called by Archæologists shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of rajas who had names ending in 'Varman' and belonged to a clan called Maukhari. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance." Now it is clear from the above that Sir V. Smith refers to the Maukharis and the Guptas discussed in the above two notes. It seems, however, clear to me that the Maukharis originally belonged to Kanauj. That their kingdom was Kanauj is certain from the statements of Bāṇa. Grahavarmā was attacked and killed there. His father was Avantivarmā from Bāṇa's statement. This Avantivarmā was a grandson of Śarvavarmā as seems very probable from the Deo Barnak inscription. The seal of Śarvavarmā found at Ashirgad gives the genealogy of this line of kings which has been given above. These Maukhari kings thus ruled at Kanauj and held extensive sway. The description of Bāṇa पर्णपिताणा भ्युदयः स्थितोऽपि सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरो वंशः। as also तिमिरोत्सिस्तारो रवेर्मौखराणां माहेश्वः परिमनः (H. C. pp. 200 and 252) seems to indicate that the Maukharis of Kanauj were a powerful family and the seal found at Ashirgad and the inscriptions found at Jaunpur and Deo Barnak show that they held sway over a large extent of territory southwards upto the Vindhya, northwards upto Jaunpur, and eastwards upto the Brahmaputra. In fact I would give the political history of India in the latter half of the sixth century as follows:—When the Imperial Gupta line ended in 538 A. D. with Kumāra Gupta II (V. Smith page 152 3rd edition), many of their provinces came under the sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj. With the overthrow of the Huns by a confederacy led by Yaśodharma and Bālāditya several new kingdoms came into importance in different parts of the Gupta empire and among them the Vardhanas of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj who had also their share of the fights with the Huns were the two prominent. The latter extended their sway north, south and east and for a time the eastern provinces were under their direct sway. We can only thus explain the confirmation of the grant at Deo Barnak made ori-

ginally by Bālāditya, by Śarvavarmā and again by Avantivarmā. It was after Harsha's death that this sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj in Bengal was substituted by that of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called by Archæologists. This part of my theory about the Maukharis seems to me to be well founded and strong. As to my surmise that the later Gupta line originally came from Malwa, I cannot speak with the same certainty. If Mādhava of the Aphsad inscription is a brother of Devagupta, then he came undoubtedly from Malwa. But if not we may treat his line as ruling from before in some portion of Magadha. All the same Devagupta who killed Grahavarmā and who was killed by Rājya certainly belongs to Malwa. We may well imagine that a Gupta line set itself up in Malwa after the disruption of the Gupta empire and always fought with the Maukharis of Kanauj for supremacy. Devagupta may also be, with fitness, assigned to the line of Gupta princes of whom Bhavagupta of 580 A. D. was one. Mādhava and Kumāra the companions of Harsha and Rājya must in that case be taken to belong to this line of Malwa kings, that is the Mādhava of Harsha-Charita must be taken to be different from the Mādhava of the Aphsad inscription. These Guptas of the Aphsad inscription even if assigned to Magadha may also have had fights with the Maukharis of Kanauj who were as we have said above the overlords of the eastern portion of the Gupta empire.

We must lastly take into consideration the fact noted in the account given by Mr. Burn of "some coins of the Maukharis" in J. R. A. S. 1906 at page 843 referred to by Sir V. A. Smith in a foot-note here. These coins were found in a village named Bhitaura in the Zilla of Fyzabad in Oudh. They are coins of Iśānavarmā, Śarvavarmā and Avantivarmā and of Harsha, Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya as deciphered from the legends. They also contain dates which with dates on coins previously found are for Iśanavarmā 54, 55 for Śarva 58 (formerly found) 234, 23 (now found) and 57 which may be read as 67 and 71 (formerly found) and 250 (now found) for Avantivarmā. On the coins of Harsha, Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya the figures in the opinion of Mr. Burn "stand for regnal years." The three digit figures on the Varmā coins now found are clearly Gupta years. The previous figures are not well explained and Mr. Burn seeks to explain them by reference to a supposed era started by Brahmagupta in 499 A. D. when exactly 3600 years had expired from the begnining of the Kali age. Whatever that era may be, the dates extending over three digits, now found, are clearly Gupta era figures and in the opinion of Mr. Burn this use of the Gupta era may indicate a temporary subjection to, or alliance with Guptas. But it seems to me that no such inference is necessary. Indeed independent kings use the era of an empire which has just passed away, simply because the people are accustomed to use that era. The Valabhis used the Gupta era not because they were subject to the Guptas, but because they established their kingdom in a part of the country whence the Gupta empire had just passed away

and where the people were accustomed to use the Gupta era. As they were not powerful enough to found an era of their own, they used the Gupta era in use among the people. We may cite an instance quite near our own times. The Marathas used the Fasli era and even the Fasli and Mahomedan months, though they were independent and even after the Mogul power at Delhi was reduced to a phantom, because the people were accustomed to that era and those months. Even the British used that era for some time. These remarks apply also to the form of the coins. A succeeding rule generally copies the form, the weight and even the legends or appearance of the coins of a preceding rule because the people are accustomed to the sight of such coins. The rupee of the British is formed after the fashion of the Mogul coin rather than of their own coins in Britain. I offer these remarks, of course, with diffidence but I may contend that the use of the Gupta era does not necessarily indicate subjection to the Guptas. In fact, in the time of the Maukharis, the Gupta empire and rule had passed away. To my mind, these coins support the theory already propounded, namely, that the Maukharis succeeded to the rule of the Guptas in the Gangetic provinces. The finding of the coin in the Fyzabad District, like the Jaunpur inscription of Īśānavarmā shows the extent of their sway. The genealogy disclosed in the seal of Śarvavarmā found at Ashirgad is also well supported by the coins, and Iśānavarmā, Śarvavarmā and Avantivarmā seem to be the three powerful kings of this family. And the dates of the coins now found are not inconsistent with our theory, as the coin of Avantivarmā can well make him a contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, and his son Grahavarmā a son-in-law of the latter. For if we take 250, certainly a Gupta era figure, we have 250 + 319 = 569 for Avantivarmā. Supposing it to be a date of Avantivarmā's rule we have Grahavarmā seated on the throne of Kanauj in 606 A. D., *i. e.* about 37 years after this, which is not at all improbable. 234 G. E. for Śarvavarmā again means 234 + 319 = 553 A. D., a date consistent with the Varma family tree and also with the general history of India as sketched above. Whatever era the two digit dates may be in, we think, considering the other dates, that these coins support practically the theory propounded here about the Varmas and there is nothing inconsistent with their having ruled in Kanauj, as Bāṇa makes them do.

4.—The date of Harsha's Birth.

The date of the birth of Harsha can be definitely determined from data given by Bāṇa in his Harsha-Charita. Being given by a person, who was himself at the court of Harsha, these data may be looked upon as reliable. At page 183 H. C., we find ततश्च प्राप्ते ज्येष्ठामूलीये मासि बहुलासु बहुल-पक्ष-द्वादश्यां व्यतीते प्रदोषसमये समारूढमाति क्षपायौवने सहसैवान्तःपुरे समुदपादि कोलाहलः स्त्रीजनस्य. This shows that Harsha was born in the month of Jyestha, on the 12th of the dark fortnight, when the moon was in the Krittikās, and

at the hour when night was entering on her youth (*i. e.*, about 10 p. m.). Astronomical calculations made on the basis of these data, by my friend Professor Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, show that the moon was at 10 p. m., in the Kṛittikas on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Šaka 511 (589 A. D.) as also on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 512 (590 A. D.) The latter year seems the more probable of the two, as in the former the Dvādashī set in after sunrise. If we accept the latter year Harsha was 16 years complete in October 606 A. D. when he ascended the throne of Thanesar and from which date his era is believed to have commenced. The month Jyestha mentioned by Bāṇa must here be taken to be an Amānta month, *i. e.*, month ending with the new moon; which seems somewhat strange as Bāṇa coming from Northern India should have used the northern reckoning with the Pūrnimānta months ending with the full moon. But the Pūrnimānta month Jyestha Vadya would be Amānta Vaishākha Vadya 12, on which day neither in 589 nor in 590 A. D. as Professor Apte has found the moon was in the Kṛittikās. There is another point also rather suspicious as neither in 589 nor in 590 A. D. on Jyestha Vadya 12 were all the planets in their Uccha or Ascendant as Bāṇa says they were (See मान्धाता फिलैवंविधे ग्रहतीपातादिसर्वदोषाभिषंगरहिते सर्वेषूच्च स्थानस्थितेष्वेवं ग्रहेष्वीदृशलग्ने मेज जन्म page 184, H. C.). Perhaps this was the exaggeration of the court astrologer or else when Harsha was born his future greatness was not known and only when his subsequent greatness entitled him to a good horoscope was one manufactured for him by the court astrologer. The position of the planets as calculated for Jyestha Vadya 12, 589 and 590 A. D. are as follows, according to Professor Apte's calculations :—

	Jyestha Vadya 12, 589 A. D. (4o ghati) 10 P. M., Tuesday.	Jyestha Vadya 12, 590 A. D. (4o ghati) 10 P. M. Sunday.
र.	२—२०—२४	२—१०—५६
चं.	१— ५—४५.	१— १—५४
मं.	१—४ —४१	४—१८—३६
बु.	२—१५—५३	२—१३— ६
गु.	१—२१—२७	२—१६—१५
शु.	४— ०—४६	२—१६—५४
श.	२—१०— ७	२—१९—३७
रा.	१—१२—४८	०—२३—२९
के.	९—२६—५७	९—१६—२०

Although from the above, Bāṇa's testimoney regarding the position of the planets is found to be unreliable, his date of birth cannot be so as Harsha's birthday celebrations must have taken place every year as emperor's birthdays usually are and there could have been no mistake about it.

To find the exact English date and for the purpose of corroboration I myself made calculations from Sewell and Dexit's tables for the years A. D. 588, 589, 590 and 591. I also found that Vaishākha Vadya would not suit as Krittikas and Dvādashī do not fall together in any of these years but they come together on Jyestha Vadya in the years 589 and 590. Particularly in 590 A. D. there is Dvādashī from sunrise and the Tithi lasts for 22 hours and more, Krittikānakshatra beginning at about 4 hours after sunrise. This year, therefore, suits the requirements most correctly and the corresponding English date and day are Sunday 4th June 590 A. D.

5.—BĀNA ON HARSHA'S EXPLOITS.

Although Bāṇa has not described the *Digvijaya* of Harsha, there is a passage in the Harsha-Charita of great importance from which our statements about it derive considerable support. Bāṇa's brothers in asking him to relate to them the life of Harsha, extol the great exploits of the emperor in this manner.

"अत्र बलजिता निश्चलीकृताश्चलन्तः कृत्तपक्षाः क्षितिभृतः।
अत्र प्रजापतिनाशेषभोगिमण्डलस्योपरि क्षमा कृता।
अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन सिंधुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीरात्मीया कृता।
अत्र बलिना मोचितभूभृद्वेष्टनो मुक्तो महानागः।
अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः।
अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशैलभुवो दुर्गाया गृहीतः करः।
अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपालाः।" (H. C. p. 139)

All these sentences are double meaning and poetical in a way which is only possible in Sanskrit; but the sense as applicable to Harsha is very important in this inquiry and may be given as follows:—"He the conqueror by force, made the several kings, their allies or supporters being cut off, immovable (in their kingdoms). He the lord of all peoples pardoned (and allowed to rule) all kings and chieftains. He the greatest of all men having conquered the king of Sind, made his wealth his own. He of great physical strength let off the great elephant after having released from its trunk the king (Kūmāra). He the great emperor anointed Kumāra a king. He the supreme lord exacted tribute from the inaccessible land of the Himālaya mountains. He the protector of all peoples appointed protectors and governors of peoples in the several directions." From this passage we glean not only the information that Harsha conquered all the kingdoms of Hindustan but that he allowed the conquered kings to rule them under his suzerainty. Some particular countries are also mentioned as humbled, namely, Sind and Kashmir or perhaps Nepal which must be the country in the inaccessible Himalayas which paid tribute to him. The king anointed by him must be the Kumārarāja of Assam, whom perhaps being his first ally and willing

riend he raised to a higher dignity by crowning him himsef, or gave him the kingdom of Saśānka as mentioned further on. The letting off of the elephant is explained by the commentator by mentioning a legend that the Kumārarāja was once seized by the riding elephant of Harsha with his trunk, and that Harsha who was a man of great personal prowess and courage rescued him by cutting off the elephant's trunk with his sword, the trunkless elephant being thereafter let off in the jungles. Lastly Harsha maintained his vast empire under his subjection and without disturbance not only by his constant movements to and fro with a strong army of elephant and horse but he had his own governors to collect tribute and to maintain law and order appointed in all directions much like the present Political Agents maintained by the British Government in Native States. This passage thus gives very important information which coming from an eye witness is of special value.

6.—Śīlāditya of Molapo.

According to the description of this king given by Hiuen Tsang he began to rule in 530 A. D. and died in 580 A. D., and thus lived about 60 years before his visit in 640 A. D. In the Rājataranginī we have the mention of a Śilāditya of Malwa, son of Vikramāditya, who was driven out of his capital by his enemies but who was restored to his throne by Pravarasena II of Kashmir. (Rāj. Book III, 330.) Was he the same king as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang? It is conceded by Stein that while the history of Kashmir given by Kalhana is reliable from the Karkota dynasty onwards, previous to it the dates and history given by Kalhana are not so. This view is borne out also by the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For when he was in Kashmir a Karkota king was evidently ruling there. The Records state: "Being protected by a dragon the kings crowed over their neighbours." From the date of Durlabha Vardhana given by Kalhana this king appears to be on the throne of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited it. His date as given by Kalhana is 3677 of the Laukika era or 602 A. D. Now before this king, Kalhana mentions five rulers upto Pravarasena II as follows proceeding backwards:—

Name.	Laukika Year.	Length of reign
1. Bālāditya	3641	36
2. Vikramāditya	3597	42
3. Ranāditya	3299	300
4. Lakhana	3288	13
5. Yudhishthira II	3246	39
6. Pravarasena II	3186	60

Thus Pravarasena II according to Kalhana came to the throne in 3186 L. E. or 111 A. D. He took the kingdom from Mātrigupta who was

sent to rule Kashmir during an interregnum by Vikramāditya of Malwa, on Vikrama's death. Kalhana takes this Vikrama to be the first Vikrama who founded the era of 57 B. C. This makes Vikrama die at least after 111+57=168 years of rule which is an obvious absurdity. There is also the absurdity of Ranāditya ruling for 300 years in this dynasty of kings. All this hopeless confusion has been caused by Kalhana's mistake in giving up the original tradition fortunately preserved by Kalhana himself that Vikramāditya Śakāri or the first Vikrama was a different person from the one who sent Mātrigupta to rule over Kashmir. The first Vikrama according to the tradition rejected by Kalhana was a relative and a contemporary of a previous king of Kashmir by name Pratāpāditya. If we take the Vikramāditya who sent Mātrigupta to Kashmir to be Yaśodharma Vishṇu-Vardhana of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 528 A. D., and established an empire over the whole of Nothern India as stated in his Mandsaur pillar inscription we get at some reliable history and dates and we are supported also by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For Hiuen Tsang relates that when he visited Kashmir the capital of that country was newly built and the traveller speaks of the new capital as distinct from the old Now it is certain that Pravarasena II founded the present capital Srinagar called also from him Pravarapura. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A. D., we may take it that this new capital was not yet a hundred years old. Thus Pravarasena's coming to the throne must be placed some time after 531 A. D.— a time which is not inconsistent with the date of Vikramāditya Yeśodharma of the Mandsaur pillar inscription of 533 A. D. We must give up the genealogy and history of the later Gonardiya kings given by Kalhana altogether and take two or three salient facts only as certain, namely, that Pravarasena II founded the new capital of Kashmir about 540 A. D., that Vikramāditya Yaśodharma had sent a man named Mātrigupta to rule Kashmir before this Pravarasena and that Pravarasena assisted Vikramāditya's son Pratāpaśila, also called Śilāditya, to regain his kingdom lost owing to his expulsion by enemies. This Pratāpaśila named also Silāditya may thus have been the Śilāditya of Malwa who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Molapo.

But there is one difficulty. Hiuen Tsang states that the king of Valabhi, son-in-law of Harsha, was a nephew of the Śilāditya of Malwa. If Śilāditya of Malwa after a rule of about 50 years, died 60 years before 640 A. D., *i.e.*, about 580 A. D., and was a son of Vikramāditya who must be supposed to have died about 530 A.D., how can his nephew be in 630 A.D. a young man? If we suppose that nephew stands here for a sister's son, even then this relationship cannot be accepted if we bear in mind the disparity of age between a supposed sister of Śilāditya whose father died say about 530 A. D., and Dhruvabhata of Valabhi who was a young man of twenty-five or thirty in 630 A. D. Of course, if we take Hiuen Tsang's Śilāditya of Malwa to be a different person from the son of

Vikramāditya it is possible to conceive that he had a sister from whom Dhruvabhata was born in the Valabhi family. The conclusion is that the identity of Śilāditya of Malwa with the Pratāpaśīla Śilāditya, son of Vikramāditya mentioned by Kalhana in the Rājataranginī, is a matter of considerable doubt.

If the identity is, however, accepted† the history of the western portion of Malwa becomes very easy and straight and we may believe that the line of the great Emperor who defeated the Huns did not become obscure for a hundred years at least, but ruled in Western Malwa to which country we may properly assign Mandsaur where his Jayastambha was found. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the grandson of this Śilāditya must have been ruling, for Hiuen Tsang relates that Śilāditya who was a most devout Buddhist had built a temple of Buddha near his palace. "The fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption" (Records Watters, Vol. II, page 242). The temple must have been added to in this way, for at least three generations, when Hiuen Tsang visited Malwa. The dynasty may be, thus, supposed to have ruled Western Malwa from before 528 to 640 A. D., for certain Of course, the mention of successive generations of Śilāditya by Hiuen Tsang makes it impossible to believe with Dr. Hoernle that this Śilāditya could have been alive in 606 A. D., to attack Grahavarmā. As we have already said the attacker of Grahavarmā was Devagupta alone.

Dr. Hoernle's idea that Śilāditya of Molapo was a Pro-Hunic king seems also to be difficult of acceptance. I believe the only basis for this supposition is that he invoked the assistance of Pravarasena II of Kashmir. But Pravarasena II was not a Hunic king. Even if we believe that his father was Toramāna he was not according to Kalhana a son of Mihirakula. I do not think Dr. Hoernle's reference here to the Rājataranginī bears this out. Toramāna was the younger brother of Hiranya, who imprisoned him for striking coins in his own name. His pregnant wife escaped and gave birth to Pravarasena. After Hiranya's death therefore, there was an interregnum for a time during which Mātrigupta was appointed ruler by Vikramāditya. Pravarasena coming of age, recovered his kingdom on Vikramāditya's death from Mātrigupta. If we believe Kalhana's story, then, Pravarasena was not a Hunic king. And Pravarasena assisted Śilāditya to regain his kingdom, with the probable object of recovering the throne of Kashmir kings which Vikrama had removed to Malwa as mentioned in Rāj. III, 331.

If we keep Kalhana aside we may say that there was in Kashmir an nterval of foreign rule, probably under the Huns, which Vikrama broke and Mātrigupta was appointed by him to rule it, there being no claimant available. Pravarasena hearing of Vikrama's death and claiming the

† And this may be done by taking the word nephew to mean that Dhruvabhata's father and Śilāditya of Malwa were brothers in the sense that they were the sons of two full sisters.

kingdom as a scion of the old reigning family took it back from Mātṛigupta. In short, in either case Śilāditya could not have been a Pro-Hun. He was a devout Buddhist and could not have been a bad man also Of course, his capital was not Ujjain. Kalhana, as we have already said, confounds Vikrama *S'akāri*,* the legendary hero of Ujjain with Yaśodharma, the conqueror of the *Huns*, who from his pillar erected at Mandsore may well be taken to have really ruled in Western Malwa, and his son Śilāditya naturally ruled there.

On one point, however, I think it is not impossible to accept Dr. Hoernle's idea. His suggestion that the coins of Harśa Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya found with those of Iśanāvarmā and Grahavarmā at Bhitaura, Fyzabad District, noticed by Mr. Burn in J. R. A. S. 1909 mentioned before, should be attributed to Yaśodharma and his son Śilāditya, deserves to receive more favourable consideration than it has hitherto done. By a strange coincidence the names Harsha, Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya apply to both Harsha and Pratāpaśila of Thanesar and to Yaśodharma and his son Śilāditya. Rājtarangini (III. 125) gives Harsha as another name of Vikramāditya and his son Śilāditya had also another name of Pratāpaśila (Do. III. 330.)† The years on these coins are as Mr. Burn says regnal. Harsha of Thanesar established an era of his own and his years may be regnal, but his father Pratāpaśila like Iśāna would rather use the Gupta era or some other era. He was not an emperor nor did he claim to be one. His titles and those of Iśāna are the same and hence it is not probable that he would use his regnal years on his coins. He does not appear to have reigned long and his years, even if regnal, could not have been so many as 33 or 31. Thirdly, it appears from the Harsha-Charita that the coin of Harsha was marked with a bull. At least this was so in the first year of his rule (वृषाङ्कामभिनवघटितां टङ्कनवीं मुद्रां समुपाहृत्य H. C., p. 274) and the same would be the case with the coins of his father if they did not copy the Gupta coins. These arguments should induce us to attribute these coins to Harsha Yaśodharma Vikramāditya who was an emperor of India and his son Pratāpaiśla *alias* Śilāditya who would use his own or his father's regnal years. The name Śilāditya

*अथ प्रतापादित्याख्यस्तैरानीय दिगन्तरात् ।
विक्रमादित्यभूभर्तुर्ज्ञातिरत्राभिषिच्यत ॥
शकारि विंक्रमादित्य इति संभ्रममाश्रितैः ॥
अन्यैरत्रान्ययालेखि विसंवादि कदर्थितम् ॥राज० ॥

† The following ślokas from Rājata. III are relevant
वैरिनिर्यासितं राज्ये विक्रमादित्यजं न्यधात् ।
पित्र्ये प्रतापशीलं सं शीलादित्यापराभिधम् ॥ and
तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षापराभिधः ।
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्यइत्यभूत् ॥१२५॥
म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।
शकान् विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यभारो लघूकृतः ॥१२८

was a favourite one with Budhists who valued virtue (शील) more than valour (विक्रम) and who thus gave this title to many kings of Budhist fame. Śilāditya of Molapo was a staunch Budhist and may have struck coins in that name also besides those issued in the name of Pratápaśīla.

7.—INDIA IN 630 A. D. AS DESCRIBED BY HIUEN TSANG.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
1. Kapiśa (Kabul or Kafiristan) ...	Kshatriya Buddhist ...	Generally Buddhist.
(a) Lampāka or Lampá (Laghman) going east and crossing Black range.	Dependency of Kapiśa. .	Non-Buddhists very numerous, the Brethren very few ; people ill-mannered and ugly.
(b) Nagar (Jellalabad) south-east crossing a mountain and a river.	Province of Kapiśa ...	The people reverenced Buddha and had little faith in other systems.
(c) Gāndhāra (Peshawar) south-east, upto the Indus.	Subject to Kapiśa ...	Majority adhered to other systems of religion. Town and villages desolate. Śālatura, birth-place of Panini, mentioned in this country.
2. Udyána (Swat); going north crossing rivers .	King not mentioned ...	People hold Buddhism in high esteem and were believers in Mahāyāna.
(a) Taxilā (Rawalpindi) returning south and crossing the Indus.	Subject formerly to Kapiśa, but now to Kashmir	People who were plucky, were adherents of Buddhism.
(b) Sinhapura (Ketas near Salt Range). South-east across hills, Indus west for frontier. (Shahapur).	Subject to Kashmir ...	Religion not mentioned.
(c) Uraśa (Haripur) Jhelum ..	,, ,, ,, ...	The people were not Buddhists.
3. Kashmir South-east ...	King protected by Dragon.	People were both orthodox and heterodox; they were handsome and fond of learning but deceitful.
(a) Punach (Punach) South-west ...	Subject to Kashmir ...	
(b) Rajapura (Rajaori) South-east ...	,, ,, ,, ...	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
Takka (old capital Śakala or Sialkot) going south-east, Indus on the west, Bias on the east.	King not mentioned ...	Few believed in Buddhism and most served the Devas. From here there were rest-houses on the roads.

5. Chinabhukti (Patti) going eastward ...	Former king Mihirakula.	Orthodoxy and heterodoxy had their adherents. There were no monasteries. There were 9 Deva temples.
6. Jālandhara (Jullunder), north-east ..	King not mentioned. A former king was in sole control of matters relating to Buddhism.	50 Monasteries and 3 Deva temples with professed non-Buddhists of the Pāśupata sect.
7. Kuluta (Kulu) among mountains going north-east.	King not named ...	20 Monasteries and 15 Deva temples.
8. Śatadru going south the Sutlej on west ...	" " " ...	People devout Buddhists.
9. Pāriyātra (Bairat) going south-west ...	King of the Vaiśya caste name not mentioned.	8 Monasteries in ruin; 10 Deva temples with 1000 non-Buddhists.
10. Mathura eastward ..	King not mentioned ...	People were moral and very intellectual; 20 monasteries with 2000 Brethren and 5 Deva temples.
11. Sthānesvara (Thanesar) going north-east ...	" " " ...	Non-Buddhists were very numerous. 3 monasteries and about 100 Deva temples. There is here an indirect mention of the Bhagavadgīta.
12. Srughna north-east, the Jumna flowing through the middle. Snowy mountains on the north, the Ganges on the east.	" " " ...	There were 100 Deva temples and the non-Buddhists were numerous.
13. Matipura (Western Rohilkhand) crossing to the eastern bank of the Ganges.	Of Śūdra caste, did not believe in Buddhism and worshipped the Devas.	The people were equally divided between Buddhism and other religions.
14. Brahmapura (Garhwal and Kumaon) going north.	Not mentioned ...	5 monasteries with very few brethren, 10 Deva temples.
15. Govishāṇa (Kashipur, Rampur) South-east of Matipura.	" " ...	People honest and sincere and applied themselves to learning. Most of them non-Buddhists; sought the joys of this life.
16. Ahichhatra (Eastern Rohilkhand & Pilibhit) going south east.	" " ...	10 Monasteries, 9 Deva temples; 300 worshippers of the Pāśupata sect.
17. Pilośana (after crossing the Ganges south) capital near Atranji.	" " ...	The people were mainly non-Buddhists.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
18. Sārkāshya or Kapitha, South-east ...		4 Monasteries, 10 Deva temples, non-Buddhists were Śaivites.
19. Kanauj South-east. Capital to the east of the Ganges.	Harsha of the Vaisya caste.	The people were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were temples to the sun god and Maheśvara in the city. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in silk attire They were given to learning and the arts.
20. Ayuto (Ayodhya) going south-east and crossing the Ganges (another river), to the south.	King not named ...	100 monasteries with 3000 brethren and 10 temples. There were few non-Buddhists. Vasubandhu and Asanga preached in this city.
21. Ayomukha (?) East and crossing the Ganges (?) to the north.	Not mentioned ...	People equally divided and there were 5 monasteries and 10 Deva temples.
22. Prayāga (Allahabad) going south-east and crossing the Ganges on the south and north of the Jumna,	" " ...	Majority of the inhabitants non-Buddhists. In front of a Deva temple a big Banyan tree from which people threw themselves down to die. At the confluence also people bathed and then starved themselves to death.
23. Kośambi going south-west through a forest ...	Not mentioned, Udayana ancient king made a sandal-wood image of Buddha which was in the palace temple.	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
24. Viśoka (?) going north ...	Not mentioned ...	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
25. Śravasti (Kosala) going north-east ...	Not mentioned. In Buddha's time seat of king Prasenajit.	Non-Buddhists were very numerous. The people were honest and fond of learning.

26. Kapilavastu (deserted kingdom) going south-east.	No king, each city had its own king.	There were two Deva temples and remains of 1000 monasteries. (These three were probably no kingdoms, but places connected with Buddha's life. Kapilavastu was his birth-place and Kuśinagara his death place.)
27. Rāmagrāma (the country devastated) going east through a forest and inhabitants few.	No king ...	
28. Kuśinagara (all in ruin. few inhabitants) north-east.	" " ...	
29. Benares (Ganges on the West) South-west of Kuśinagara.	Not mentioned ...	Majority believed in other systems; only a few believed in Buddhism. The people were gentle and courteous, majority being devotees of Siva. There was a metal image of the Deva (Siva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty.
30. Chanchu (Yaudheya) going eastward along the Ganges, capital Ghazipur.	King not mentioned ..	10 monasteries 20 Deva temples. On the south of the Ganges was a Mahāśālā where all the inhabitants were Brahmins and there were no Buddhists. On the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa temple with a most beautiful image.
31. Vaiśali, crossing the Ganges going north-east.	Not mentioned ...	The people both orthodox and heterodox. The Digambaras flourished.
32. Vṛijji, going north-east ..	" " ...	Very few Buddhists, non-Buddhist were numerous.
33. Nepal (in the snowy mountains, direction not mentioned).	Kings were Kshatriya Licchavis. They were eminent scholars and believed in Buddha. Anśuvarman a recent king had written a treatise on Etymology.	The people were rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance but skilled mechanics. They believed both the false and the true religions. Monasteries and Deva temples touching each other.

Name of Country.	King.	People
34. Magadha, from Vaiśali south, after crossing the Ganges. Old Capital Rājagṛiha, new Pātaliputra. The country produced fragrant rice called "rice for grandees".	Not mentioned; but in the Life we are told that Purna Varma king of Magadha who was just dead patronised Jayasena a renowned Buddhist scholar of Kshatriya caste.	The people were honest, esteemed learning and reverenced Buddhism. The adherents of various sects were numerous. Gaya was to the south and had few inhabitants. But there were 1000 Brahmin families descendants of the original Ṛishi Gaya and these were not subject to the king and were treated by all with reverence.
Nālandā monasteries (modern village Buragaon) to the east of Rājagṛiha.		Ancient Buddhist University. Bālāditya and others built them and endowed them with 100 villages.
35. Hiranyaparvata. (Monghyr) going east. Capital close to the Ganges on its north side.	No king, a neighbouring king having recently deposed the ruler.	10 Monasteries and 20 Deva temples. Near the Ganges and besides the capital was a mountain on which lived an endless succession of Ṛishis whose teachings were still preserved in the Deva temples.
36. Champā (Bhagalpur) East, Capital situated on the south of the Ganges. Many herds of elephants in the jungle to the south.	Not mentiond ...	Monasteries in ruin. On the south side of the Ganges in an islet, there was a Deva temple beautiful and enchanting.
37. Kajugal (Rajamahal) East; south of the Ganges.	No king; subject to another state.	6 Monasteries, 10 Deva temples.
38. Pundra Vardhana (Rangapur) East after crossing the Ganges.	Not mentioned ...	20 Monasteries, 100 Deva temples. There were Digambara Nigranthas also.
39. Kāmarūpa (Assam) East after crossing a large river.	A Brahmin, descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva called Bhāskara Varma the other name being Kumāra	The people were small in stature; spoke a different language; did not believe in Buddhism. There were hundreds of Deva temples. Some Buddhists prayed in secrecy.

40. Samatata. Capital Jessore ..	Not mentioned ...	30 Buddhistic Monasteries and 100 Deva temples. Digambar Nigranthas were very numerous.
41. Tāmralipti (Midnapur) West; Capital on an inlet of the sea, land and water communication met, being on a bay.	Not mentioned ...	10 Buddhistic monasteries, 50 Deva temples.
42. Karnasuvarna (Murshidabad) North-west ...	Śaśāṅka (see Gupta inscriptions p. 283.)	People fond of learning. 10 monasteries 50 temples. Numerous followers of various religions
43. Udra or Odra (Orissa) going S.W. On the east the occean, in the S. E. a sea-port for going to Ceylon.	Not mentioned ...	People reverence the law. In speech and manners different from Mid. India, Fruit larger than elsewhere. 100 Monasteries, 50 temples Myriads of Buddhists.
44. Konguto going south-west, over hills and the sea.	Not mentioned ...	People tall, black and valorous. Written language the same, ways of speaking different. They were not Buddhists; 100 temples. Of Tirthikas there were 10,000.
45. Kalinga. South-west ..	Not mentioned ...	People headstrong but fair and clear of speech; they differed somewhat from Mid-India in talk and manners. Few Buddhists. Majority of other religions. 100 Deva temples, majority being Nigranthas.
46. Kosala, land of Nāgārjuna, North-west; country surrounded by mountains.	Kshatriya Buddhist ...	People tall and black; of both religions; about 100 monateries.
47. Āndhra. South from Kosala ...	Not mentioned ...	People violent. Their speech differs from Mid-India; 100 monasteries. Followers of different religions.
48. Dhanakakata (Amaravati on the Krishna) South.	" " ..	People black; monasteries deserted, 100 temples, followers of various sects numerous.
49. Chola. South-west ...		People of a fierce and profligate character. They were the followers of the Tirthikas. The monasteries were in ruins. Several tens of Deva temples and the Digambaras were numerous.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
50. Dravida. South ; a port led to Sinhala ...	Not mentioned ...	The people courageous and honest, esteemed great learning, they differed little from Mid-India in written and spoken language. 100 monasteries, and more than 80 Deva temples. Majority Digambara
51. Malayakūta. South from Kānchī ; depot of pearls ; sea-port to Ceylon.	" " ...	People indifferent to religion ; black, only good at pride, monasteries few, hundreds of Deva temples ; Digambaras very numerous. On the south on the sea was the Malaya mountain which produced sandal, camphor and other trees. On the east was Potalaka mountain with Pataldhe lake on the top.
52. Konkan, going north from Dravid ...	" " ...	100 monasteries. Close to the city was a forest of Tāla trees, its leaves were used for writting
53. Mahārāshtra. North-west. Capital to the east of a great river	Pulikeshin	People warlike and fond of learning; both orthodox and heterodox; to the east of this country was a mountain in which caves were dug out.
54. Bharukachha going west and crossing the Narmadā.	Not mentioned	People deceitful and ignorant ; believed in both orthodoxy and hetrodoxy. They support themselves on the sea and salt manufacture.
55. Mālava, going north-west. Capital on the Mahi.	60 years before a great king, called Silāditya who had built by his palace a Buddhist Temple ruled.	People learned. Mālava in the South-west and Magadha in North-east were the two countries where learning was prized. There was miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

56. Atali (Unidentifred) Going north-west.	King not mentioned ...	People traders and rich. The soil was sandy. There were little flowers or fruit. In speech etc., the people were like those of Mālava, but they did not esteem religious merit, and worshipped Devas. (Hiuen Tsiang probably did not visit this country.)
57. Kita (Cutch) going north-west from Mālava ...	Subject to Mālava ...	People like those of Mālava. There were however numerous worshippers of Deva temples.
58. Valabhi ; going north ...	Kshatriya by caste a nephew of the former king of Mālava-Śilāditya and a son-in-law of the reigning king of Kanauj-Śilāditya. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist. His name was Dhruvabhata	The country was like Mālava, the people rich and prosperous. There were hundreds of Deva temples, above 100 Buddhistic monasteries.
59. Anandapura. North-west of Valabhi ...	Not mentioned. Subject to Mālava.	Fertile and like Mālava in products, climate written language and institutions. More than 10 Monasteries.
60. Surashtra ; going west. Mahi on its west side.	Subject to Mālava ..	People rich and flourishing. They were rude and believed in both religious. 10 Monasteries and about 100 Deva temples. Near the capital was the Ujanta hill (undoubtedly Girnar near Junagad,) on which congregated supernatural Rishis Soil blackish. Disturbed by storms. The country on the high way to the sea. The people utilized the sea and were traders by profession.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
61. Gurjara-North from Valabhi, capital Bhinamal ...	Kshatriya a young man celebrated for wisdom and valour and profound believer in Buddhism.	It had a flourishing population mostly non-Buddhist. 1 Monastery 10 Deva temples. The country was like Surashtra.
62. Ujjayini. South-west from Gurjara, properly identified with Ujjain, because Aśoka had made here a jail.	Brahmin, well versed in heterodox doctrine.	People rich and prosperous; very few Buddhists Monasteries mostly in ruins. Some 10 Deva temples.
63. Chichito. North-east.	Brahmin, a firm believer in Buddhism.	Majority of people not Buddhist. Wheat and pulse were its products.
64. Mahesvarapura going north. ... Returns from Maheśvarapura to Gośjala (Gurjara) crosses a wild country and going north and crossing the Shintu river comes to	Brahmin, not a believer in Buddhism.	People not Buddhist. Majority belonged to the Paśupatas.
65. Sind. Capital Pisharpulo (?) ...	Of Sūdra caste and believer in Buddha.	People quarrelsome. Thorough believers in Buddhism; several hundreds of Monasteries and 10000 brethren. Above 30 Deva temples. Wheat, dromedaries and mules were the chief products. In the marshes of Shintu lived myriads of families of ferocious disposition, who made taking of life their occupation though they shaved off hair and wore Bhikshu garbs.

66. Mulasthānapura, going east and crossing the Indus.	Subject to Tekka ...	The people were upright, led moral life but few were Buddhists. There was a temple to the sun, the image of burning gold, ornamented with precious stones. There was a constant succession of female singers in this temple.
67. Pofato North-east upland.	Subject to Tekka ...	About 10 Buddhist monasteries.
68. Pochilo. South-west from Sind. Capital in the west on the sea.	Subject to Sind ...	Above 80 monasteries. In the capital was a large Maheśvara temple the image in which had supernatural powers. Capital Khajiśvara or Kacchchheśvara.
Udumbara ...	Subject to Persia ...	Writing like that of India and speech different. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy both were believed in. Above 100 monasteries and hundreds of Deva temples and very many Pāśupatas.
69. Langbala (Makran) going west ...		In the capital was a temple of Maheśvara.
70. Phiitośiblo (Pītaśila) ...	Subject to Sind ...	People violent but true Buddhists Language differedf rom thatof India. 20 manasteries 15 Deva temples.
71. Afantu (Avanda). North-east ...	" " "	
72. Falana (Varanar or Bannu). North-east ...	Subject to Kapiśa ...	People bold, fierce and believed in both orthodoxy and hetero doxy. Tens of Buddhist monasteries and 5 Deva temples mostly Pāśupata

(Taken from Watters' Yuan Chwang Vol. II.)

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE

Before proceeding further it is necessary, as it would be convenient, to describe the condition of India which obtained at this time in all its details. The reign of Harsha was, so to speak, a brilliant ending to a period which was passing away. Like the flame that bursts into brilliance before it expires, the condition of the country in the days of Harsha was flattering in every respect. But the hey day of Aryan civilization had been reached and the mediæval period of Ancient Indian history was to commence, in which Indo-Aryan civilization had its decline and its fall. It would, therefore, be interesting as well as proper at this place to take a stock of the condition of the country at this time, in order that we may see whence and wherefore India or rather Indo-Aryans declined and fell.

Fortunately, the materials for taking such a survey of the condition of the country are ample and reliable. In the first place we have the Records of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who was a minute observer and a detailed recorder. Secondly, we have the Harsha Charita of Bāṇa, another contemporary writer of eminence and credibility. The value of the Harsha Charita has been much underestimated by European scholars who cannot go to the original. His praise of Harsha is characterised by Sir Vincent Smith, in constrast with that by Hiuen Tsang, as fulsome and his performance is described as irritating, although his power as a writer is admitted and his descriptions are conceded as vivid. But if one dives beneath the gingle of his words and the hyperbole of his concepts one finds in the Hasha Charita an immense amount of detailed information about the condition of the country which can only come from a minute and accurate observer of things. I cannot but remark here that I have drawn much of my inspiration and information from Bāṇa's Harsha Charita and in depicting particularly the state of

the country and the people I shall have constantly to refer to him. These two great authorities for this period are supplemented and supported by epigraphic and other materials for constructing a detailed description of the country at this time. We proceed first to describe the people of India, or rather their race and their castes, their appearance and their occupations.

We will begin, of course, with the description recorded by Hiuen Tsang. After stating that India was called Shintu or Hintu (a name which corresponds with the Sind and Hind of the Arabs) Hiuen Tsang says 'Among the various clans and castes of the country, the Brahmins were purest and most esteemed; so from their excellent reputation the name Brahmins' country had come to be a popular one for India." (Watters Vol. I p. 141). It is indeed a matter of pride as well as regret to Brahmins that they still maintained their pre-eminence by their good conduct and intelligence and their reputation outside their country in the seventh century was exactly the reverse of what it is to-day. The land bore *their* name outside the country and the name was even a *popular* one. Next to the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas also maintained their character for high morals and simplicity of life as also for valour. At page 157 we find the further remark: "The Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in their life and very frugal." Thus the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the two leading castes of India were in those days deserving of the foremost rank which has always been assigned to them in Indian society. At page 168 the four castes of India are thus described by Hiuen Tsang.

"There are four orders of hereditary caste distinctions. The first is that of the Brahmins, they keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of kings. This order has held sovereignty for many generations and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the Vaiśyas or the class of traders, who

barter commodities and pursue gains far and near. The fourth order is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists. These toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity The members of a caste marry within the caste. Relations by the father's or mother's side do not inter-marry and a woman never contracts a second marriage." Here is a vivid description of Indian caste in the first half of the seventh century, A. D., recorded by an intelligent foreign observer who lived among the people aud studied and understood their language. Indian caste as we have observed elesewhere is based on both *race* and *occupation*. Both the factors are important and we shall discuss them here in detail

That the Indian people in their higher and many lower strata also, are Aryan by race, nobody can now deny although mixture to a certain extent with the Dravidians, the original inhabitants of the land, has taken place. The prevailing type, however, was then and is still Aryan. Measurements of the head and the nose taken at the cenous of 1901 have indubitably proved that the people of the Panjab and Rajputana are unmistakably Aryan and those of the United Provinces and the Bombay Presidency are mixed Aryans and Dravidians. The prominence and length of the nose of the people of India is remarked even by Hiuen Tsang. "They have long noses and large eyes". (page 151). Bāna too refers to the same pecularity when he makes the poetical remark on Skanda Gupta's nose that it was as long as the pedigree of his master's family.* The people of India were then thus unmistakably Aryan and it is therefore strange to observe that European scholars are still labouring under the old bias of tracing the origin of the Kshatriyas of India to Scythic and Hunic peoples. This purity of race was greatly preserved in India in the higher castes as well as the lower owing to restrictions im-

* In contrast with the high nose of the Aryans Bāṇa maaks also the low nose of the aboriginal people, see his description of the Śabara youth brought to Harsha in the Vindhya jungles "अवनाट-नासिकं चिपिठघरम्" page 310 H.C.

posed on marriage by inveterate custom and legal precept. Hiuen Tsang himself remarks that Indians marry within the caste, and there are several classes within the four castes according to their degree of purity. Although outside races like the Śakas and the Hūṇas came to India these were always treated as separate classes of Kshatriyas and they rarely married with the old Kshatriyas. This fact coupled with the paucity of the foreigners accounts for the still distinctly preserved Aryan type in the peoples of the Panjab and Rajputana though these parts had especially been the scenes of the inroads of foreign peoples.

It is interesting to observe that in the matter of marriage, there is a distinct difference in the remark of Megasthenes and that of Hiuen Tsang, the former belonging to the time of Chandragupta of 300 B. C. and the latter to the time of Harsha of 600 A. D. Megasthenes remarks that the Brahmins were allowed to marry wives from the lower castes.* In fact this tallies with the provision of Manu which allows the higher castes to marry into the lower, the progeny when the lower order was immediately next being of the same caste as that of the father. This rule of Manu has, as we know, been abandoned in the later Smritis and in order that the progeny may be of the same caste both the husband and wife must be, it is now declared, of the same caste. This view of the later Smṛitis is reflected in the remark of Hiuen Tsang. But it must be noticed here that the old order of things of Manu's days had not yet passed away entirely in the time of Harsha. Caste was still somewhat loose and higher orders were allowed to marry in the lower next without the lowering of the caste of the progeny. Hiuen Tsang reports that Harsha's daughter was married to Dhruvabhata and that while the former was a Vaiśya the latter was a Kshatriya. So also Bāṇa records that Harsha's sister was married to Grahavarmā Mankhari of Kanauj and we shall see that while

*See Mc'CRind e's Ancient India Megasthenes and Arrian. page 86 "No one is allowed to marry out of his caste or to exchange his profession for another. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher who for his virtue is allowed this privilege."

Harsha's family name ended in Vardhana or Bhūti indicating their caste to be Vaiśya, the name of the Maukaris ended in Varman showing that their caste was Khatriya. Thus the times of Harsha were an intervening step in the process of the rigidification of caste ending in the next few centuries in the total prohibition of marriage outside the caste.

Anuloma marriages were not thus uncommon in the times we are describing. Such marriages took place usually in castes only one degree apart and rarely though that may be, they took place even in castes two or more grades apart. For Bāṇa records that he had two Pāraśava brothers i. e., sons of a Brahmin by a Śūdra wife. Here the word Pāraśava is used which shows that the progeny is not treated as illegitimate. The caste of the sons was not that of the father, but in case of Brahmins marrying Kshatriya wives or Kshatriyas marrying Vaiśya wives the caste of the progeny was treated the same as that of the father. For it does not appear that Dhruvabhata's son by the daugter of Harsha was treated as less than a Kshatriya. Ample epigraphic evidence is available to show that Brahmins actually married Kshatriya wives, or even Vaiśya wives without loss of caste,*. by the progeny.

We have described caste in its racial aspect and shewn that though Anuloma marriages were allowed, even in the times of Harsha, they were being gradually disallowed and that such marriages taking place among the three higher castes which were Aryan, there was not much

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*The Mandsaur stone inscription given in Corp. Ins. III pages [illegible] shows that Ravikīrti a Brahmin married Bhānuguptā a Vaiśya and had three sons one of whom Abhayadatta was a viceroy in the Nerbudda province of Emperor Yaśodharman. Dr. Fleet adds "we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghatotkacha cave inscription of Hastibhoja, a minister of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Devasena. It tells us that Hastibhoja's ancestor. a Brahmin married *according to the precept of revelation and tradition* a Kshatriya wife through whom Hastibhoja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brahmin caste whose sons and descendants applied themselves to the study of the Vedas." See Arch. Sur. Re. Western India vol. IV page 140.

deterioration of race. We shall now advert to caste in its occupational aspect, and the first prominent remark to make is, that while the occupation of the first two castes remained much the same as in the ancient days of Manu, the occupation of the Vaiśyas had undergone a restriction. They were husbandmen and cattle-breeders pre-eminently as well as traders in the days preceding the Christian era; but now they remained only traders. " कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्य-कर्म स्वभावजम् " says the Bhagavadgītā but the *krishi* and *gorakshya* or agriculture and cattle-rearing had ceased to be the occupation of tne Vaiśyas and had now become the occupation of the Śūdras. Hiuen Tsang distinctly says that trading was the only occupation of the Vaiśyas and agriculture was the occupation of the Śūdras. The result was, that notwithstanding that the race of many of the agricultural classes in India was distinctly Aryan, they came to be classed as Śūdras or fourth grade of the people. The fact that the lowest population of the Panjab and Rajputana is still distinctly Aryan in type also proves that many of the peoples, now and even then looked upon as Śūdras were in reality, Aryan by race. The peoples who have most suffered in this way are the Jat populations of the Panjab, Sind and the United Provinces and the Gurjaras who were cattle breeding Vaiśyas have suffered most in the same manner and it may be added that the Marathas have suffered still more in this manner on our side. That the Jats are distinctly Aryan no body even now doubts. " If appearance is any index, the Jats are clearly of Aryan origin ", says the Muzzuffernagar Gazetteer. They are fair, tall and with long heads and noses. Their Aryan race is admitted by Sir H. Risley also in the Census report for 1901. It seems, therefore, strange that historians still assign to them a Scythian origin. The Gurjaras also are in appearance Aryan though they are darker in complexion. The Marathas too are in appearance Aryan though their noses are less distinctly Aryan there being in their case some mixture with the Dravidian races. Unfortunately these three peoples have suffered at the hands of both *Indian* and *European* savants. Indian

Shastris of later days with their bias against agriculture and cattle-rearing and the custom of widow marriage which obtains among the three have treated them as Śūdras.* And European scholars have treated them as Scythic in origin, being influenced by the strange bias that the manlines which these races displayed in later history could not have belonged to the long settled people of India but could only have characterised fresh hordes of invaders like the Kushanas and the Huns who were known to be of the Scythian race. It is, however, undoubted that the Jats most distinctly and the Gujars and Marathas in lesser degree are undoubted Aryan in race and their being treated as Śūdras by Indian Shastris and as Scythians by European scholars is, historically and ethnically, incorrect.

Though these names, it must be admitted, came into use or prominence at this time, this cannot be an argument to hold that they were new races come into India at or a little before this time. New names arise from various causes as we shall find in later history; and it need not surprise us that the names Jat, Gujar and Maratha came into use in the sixth or sometime before the seventh century. The word Jat is found, first in Chandra's grammar, where he uses the word in the sentence अजय-जर्टो हूणान् given to illustrate the use of the Imperfect. Gurjara and Mahārāshtra are words used by Hiuen Tsang to denote two kingdoms. Bāṇa also uses the word Gurjara as the name of a people or king in the word गुर्जरप्रजागर. As already shown the word Gurjara appears in a grant of Dadda also. Mahārāshtra is a name which we do not find used earlier, though the language Mahārāshtri is mentioned even by Vararuchi of the first century A. D. As applied to the present Maratha country Mahārāshtra is used by Hiuen Tsang only, previous Indian writers such as

*Hiuen Tsang's remark that women never contract a second marriage must be understood as relating to the three higher grades only, as there can be no doubt that Śūdras allowed widow mirriage even in his days. It is possible to suppose that the Jats, Gurjars and Marathas though Aryans have borrowed this custom from the Śūdras with whom as agriculturists or cattle grazers they must have come inte a close and constant contact.

Varāha Mihira using other names to denote it.* The word Mahārāshtra is a Sanskrit word which can well be interpreted as denoting a people or a country but what do the words Jat and Gujar or their Sanskrit originals Jarta and Gurjara mean? They are probably the names of peoples and not countries according to any view. There were different castes among the Jats except Brahmins. So also among the Gujars some were Brahmins, some Kshatriyas, some Vaiśyas and so on, much in the same way as there are Maratha Brahmins, Maratha Kshatriyas and Maratha Vaiśyas. This subject is of a controversial character and we leave it to be discussed in a note, but we may mention here that there is a caste of Brahmins in Ujjain which styles itself Gūjar Gaud. They do not call themselves Gujaratis as Gujarati Brahmins do but Gujars, and it is well known that among the many sub-sections of Rajputs, there is at present a section by the name of Gújars. The mention by Hiuen Tsang of a Kshatriya king in Gurjara need not therefore surprise us.

To return to our subject, in the days of Hiuen Tsang, agriculture had ceased to be the occupation of Vaiśyas and had become the occupation of the Śūdras, a fact that need not therefore compel us to look upon many of the so-called Śūdras of the present day as Dravidian in race nor treat them as Scythic in race as European scholars are disposed to do. This change in the occupational aspect of caste differentiates the time of Harsha from the time of Manu. Another important change in occupation can be gathered from another statement of Hiuen Tsang. At page 170 Watters Vol. I we find, "sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised by Kshatriyas alone. Rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen other castes assuming the distinction" In the old caste organisation of Manu's days Kshatriyas alone could be kings. And native tradition asserts that this barrier was first overthrown by Chndragupta who destroyed, with Chanakya's help, the line of the last truly Kshatriya kings, the Nandas. Since then

* In a grant of Pulakeśin of this time, it first appears.

Śūdras, Brahmins and Vaiśyas have often become kings in the history of India. But even if they become kings their status in society or their caste does not rise. They still remained what they originally were and retained their caste by their own opinion and the opinion of the people. It is hence we see that Hiuen Tsang mentions the different castes of the ruling kings and his remark always should be looked upon as neither haphazard nor erroneous. When he says a particular king was a Kshatriya we must accept the word in its true signification. For he does not make even the great Harsha, his own benefactor and patron, a Kshatriya, but states clearly that he was a Vaiśya, a fact which is also indicated by the suffix Vardhana assumed by many kings of the family and also the suffix Bhūti* in the name of Pushya-Bhuti, its founder mentioned by Bāṇa. We will presently enumerate the suffixes usually taken up in their names by the different castes, but here this instance of Harsha itself will suffice to show the corectness of the information of Hiuen Tsang, as also the fact that notwithstanding his kingly position, the caste of the ruler remained what it was. We will now proceed to describe each caste separately and detail its characteristics during this period, as can be gathered from the evidence available.

We shall of course begin with the Brahmins who were by long recognition at the top of the people and who appear to have still deserved this position by their intelligence and high morals. They were in fact the leaders of thought both among the orthodox or Hindu people and among the unorthodox or the Buddhists and the Jains. The latter, though they in theory rejected caste appear to be still caste-ridden and intelligent Brahmins and even Kshatriyas without probably losing their caste joined their ranks as teachers and thinkers for the sake of the high position they attained to as heads of monasteries or congregations†. Tho following remarks, however, should be taken to

*शर्मा देवश्च विप्रस्य वर्मा त्राता च भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥ यम quoted by Kullūka (also Vishnu P III, '0 v, Manu II 30).

† For example a brother of the Brahmin king of Samatata was tho head of the Nālandā monastery and a Buddhist teacher as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

apply to those Brahmins who professed the orthodox faith.

And the first thing we have to remark is that Brahmins yet formed one caste without subdivision throughout India; the modern distinctions based on territorial divisions had not yet come into existence. The distinctions now known as Pancha Drāvidas and Pancha Gaudas had not arisen; not to speak of the many still minor sub-castes, into which Brahmins are at present further subdivided. The only distinction then known, appears to be that of Śākhā or Charana *i. e.* school of Vedic ritual or recitation. The gotra was also always mentioned, and the pravara sometimes. In fact in this matter modern Brahmins are diametrically different from the Brahmins of the days of Bāṇa. The modern Brahmins scarcely know what their gotra is and to what Vedic Sūtra they belong though they *can tell at once whether they are Kanojia or Sanādhya*, Maratha or Dravida. But the Brahmin of the seventh century A.D. always distinguished himself by his gotra and Sutra. In the Harsha Charita Bāṇa does not tell us whether he was a Kanojia or Magadha Brahmin but simply says that he was of the Vātsyāyana gotra. In all inscriptions and copperplate grants of that period we find nowhere Brahmins distiguished as Gauda or Dravida, but as belonging to a particular gotra and studying a perticular Sūtra. It is unncessary to quote any instances here for the fact is so patent. Any grant or inscription referred to at random will show this. We must, however, refer to one grant because its words have been misunderstood. The Bulandshahar Gazetteer mentions the copper-plate grant found at Indore near Anupshahar as important in that "in it there is reference to the Gauda division of Brahmins." As the grant is dated in 164 G. E. or 465 A. D. it would follow that this division of Brahmins goes back to the 5th century A. D. or 150 years before the time of Bāṇa. But it seems the word गौरान्वय-सम्भूत in this grant has been misunderstood by the Gazetteer. For it must be remembered that the divisions Gauda, Dravida etc., are not based on family distinctions but on territorial or provincial distinctions and hence the word गौरान्वय-संभूत can have

no reference to the distinctions now known as Gauda, Dravida and so on. Then again the word is Gorā and not Gauda. Of course the family name of Brahmins or what is now called the surname is rarely given in ancient epigraphic records, and this mention of the family is somewhat strange. But that there is no reference here to the provincial divisions of Brahmins is beyond question and we may believe that upto the end of the seventh century A. D. such distinctions had not arisen. Brahmins formed one caste throughout India and knew no distinctions except that of gotra and Charana or Śākhā. It is difficult to know if marriages took place then between Brahmins of different countries. But there is no reason why they should not have. Smritis do not prohibit such marriages. Even the present restriction of marriage within the same Śākhā is more a matter of custom than of Śāstric provision. For as a matter of fact marriages between *Rigvedis* and *Yajurvedis* do take place even at present among Maratha Brahmins, Kanojiyas and other subcastes. The mention of the Śākhā, therefore, in early epigraphic records does not import any divisions for prohibition of marriage. The Veda and Śākhā were perhaps important as indicating fitness for performing particular worship or religious service. The Atharvavedi Brahmins were, for instance, considered fit to perform the worship of the sun. It may be noted *en passant* that the words then used to indicate the Veda or Sākhā of a Brahmin were in some respects different from those now used Bahvricha was usually used then instead of Rigvedi and Chandoga instead of Sāmavedi; Yajurvedi being indicated by Vājasaneyi &c. And it may further be noted that Bhāradvāja-sgotra was the usual expression then instead of Bharadvaja-gotra now used.

The second thing to remark about Brahmins is that their names generally ended in particular suffixes only. It appears that in those days particular suffixes or epithets were added to the names of individuals to indicate their caste. These suffixes are mentioned even in Smritis. Śarmā was the principal suffix indicating the Brahmin caste. Besides Śarmā the other suffixes or affixes were

Bhatta, Deva and Svāmi.* In the Chammak copperplate grant of Pravarasena II of the Vākātakas of Berars (Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 235 No. 88) we have many names of Brahmin grantees mentioned and the following are some of them viz. Śātyāyana Ganārya, Vātsya Devārya, Bhāradvāja Kumāraśarmārya, Pārāsarya Gāhasarma, Kāsyapa Devārya, Maheśvarārya Bhāradvāja Bappārya, Gautamasagotra Mātriśarmārya etc. The world Ārya is added as a double honorfic or it may indicate that the person came from the southern country where Ārya (modern Ayyā) was added invariably to Brahmin names by the Dravidian people.

As mentioned before Brahmins sometimes took up the suffixes Varmā and Gupta also to indicate that they followed the profession of warriors or traders. For the Brahmins in those days as now followed a diversity of professions besides their principal professions, namely, यजन and याजन, अध्ययन and अध्यापन i. e., sacrificing and officiating at sacrifices, learning and teaching. Bāṇa describes his uncles as learned men studying themselves and teaching others, performing great sacrifices, keeping Agnihotra and living a religious life appropriate to Gṛihastha Brahmins. And yet for himself Bāṇa describes his associates in his young days, as dancers and music teachers, actors and painters, poets and dramatists, servant girls and old women, goldsmiths and chemists, Hindu Sanyāsis and Buddhist recluses and other non-descript people. It is not impossible to suppose from the Mṛichhakatika where a Brahmin thief is introduced, that Brahmins were good and bad in those days as they are now and followed good and bad professions

* See the Śloka already quoted from Yama as also Manu II 30 and V. P. III. At the present day in Northern India the word Pandit is often *prefixed* to indicate that the person is a Brahmin from the Deccan or Kashmir, while Miśra would indicate a Behari or Bengali Brahmin. In the seventh century it does not appear that any differences of country were indicated by these suffixes. Grants from the Panjab and U. P. show that Bhatta was as favourite a suffix in these provinces as in Gujarat or Deccan. And Bāṇa is often called Bāṇa Bhatta though he came from Magadha. At present, however, this suffix is added or taken up only by Mahārāshtra Brahmins, while Ārya or Ayyā is affected by Telagu Brahmins, Āchārya by Karnatak Brahmins, Pandit by Kashmiri Brahmins and Misra by Behar Brahmins.

but the generality of them may be taken to have followed, then as now, either a religious life or the profession of Government servants, a profession in which they often rose to the position of governors of provinces. The Mandsaur-well-inscription No. 35 Corp. Ins. Ind. Vol. III gives an example of this kind. Abhayadatta, the son of Ravikīrti was a 'Rājasthānīya and protected the region containing many countries (presided over by his own upright councillors), which lies between the Vindhya mountains from the summit of which there flow the waters of the Revā and the mountain Pāriyātra up to the ocean" p. 157. Similar instances might be quoted from other epigraphic records proving the frequency of such appointments in those days. And such governors eventually often became kings themselves.

We will now pass on to the Kshatriyas and the first thing to remark is that they too formed then one caste only throughout India. As the ten subdivisions of Brahmins into five Gaudas, and five Dravidas had not yet arisen, the Kshatriyas too had not yet divided themselves into Rajputs and Khatris. In fact in modern times the word Khatri has come to denote a lower grade than the word Rajput. These Kshatriyas again had not yet been divided into 36 families only, considered to be of pure descent and restricting marriage to themselves alone. None of the names even of these 36 families had yet come into existence. The Chauhans and the Solankhis, the Śisodiyas and the Rathods had yet to be born and the Kshatriyas of India then formed one undivided caste without probably any restriction of marriage to particular families. Caste was, in fact, somewhat loose then as the Kshatriyas freely married Vaiśya wives from great families which had raised themselves to the kingly status. The instance of the Maukhari Grahavarmā marrying Harsha's sister given by Bāṇa and that of the Valabhi king Dhruvabhata marrying Harsha's daughter, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang will suffice to prove this practice. But such marriages were not common and the intermixture of castes or rather races was strictly prevented by pious Hindu

kings as may be gathered from the epithet "Varnavyavasthāpanapara" usually applied in epigraphic records to great kings showing the earnest solicitude of the people to preserve the purity of Varna or race. Instances of pratiloma marriages, or marriages above the grade do not occur and hence the old law of the Manusmriti was apparently still in force. When therefore Hiuen Tsang says that a particular king was a Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra, he mentions a distinction which was strictly maintained inspite of the tendency of Buddhism to overthrow caste.

The next remark to make about the Kshatriyas is that they had not come to assign much importance to the three great Vanśas to which they now invariably trace their descent. For none of the epigraphic records of this time mention the Vanśa of the Kshatriya family. The *Surya Vamśa, the Chandra Vamśa and the Agni Vamśa are* yet not met with in grants and inscriptions. The Valabhi grants even do not mention that the Senāpati family to which the Sisodiyas, the premier Surya-Vaṃśi Rajputs of the present day trace their origin was of the Solar race. No doubt the Solar and Lunar races distinction rather the Aila and Aikshvāka race is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in the Sabhā Parva, where Krishna says that there were 101 families then in India belonging to the Solar and Lunar races. The idea thus of these two races must be taken to be at least as old as the 3rd century B. C. the undoubted date of the last edition of the Mahābhārata. But it seems probable that when in the interval between 300 B. C. and 600 A. D. various families of kings belonging to the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes and of foreign races ruled in India, the mention of the solar or lunar Vamśa must have become of less importance and hence the neglect to mention the Vamśa in inscriptions and grants. The grants of Valabhi kings of undoubted Kshatriya caste do not thus mention the race. But it does not follow that the Solar and Lunar lineage was forgotten. Some families did take pride even then in their Solar and Lunar race (H. C. p. 98 कथयतं यदि सोमवंशसंभवो सूर्यवंशसंभवो वा युवां भूपतिरभूद्देवः). But they were

apparently in the back-ground. The Pushyabhūti family of Thanesar belonged neither to the Solar nor Lunar race and the Vaiśya kings apparently did not deem the Vamśa important or could not trace the origin of their families to kings famous in the Purānas.* In grants of the Badāmi Chālukyas the gotra of the family is mentioned as Mānavya and the kings are also called Hāritī-putras. This Mānavya gotra is described in some grants as born of the first Svāyambhuva Manu and thus does not belong to the present solar race. How the two ancient lineages, namely, Solar and Lunar, grew later into importance and how the subsequent addition of the third Agni Kula was made hereafter, we shall have to discuss in our next volume.

Thirdly, the Kshatriyas had their peculiar descriptive epithets or name-endings like the Brahmins. Varmā and and Trātā mentioned in the Smṛitis were the chief ones. Other epithets may also be gathered from the records, such as Sena and Bhata. The Valabhi kings usually took up the suffixes Sena and Bhata. Sinha which was a most favourite epithet with post-Mahomedan Rajputs is not usually met with in records of the seventh century though we have the name Drona Sinha among the Valbhi kings.

We will now speak of the Vaisyas whose caste was then and is still the third in rank. They are always treated as Aryan in race for the word Ārya occurring in the Vedas is always interpreted by the commentator Sāyana as meaning Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. Vaisyas, however, generally speaking had perhaps not preserved the purity of caste as much as the other two higher castes, and some of them had sunk into the position of Śūdras. But the Vaiśyas of the days of Hiuen Tsang, from his description were traders and merchants, bankers and money lenders and these might be taken to have formed themselves into

* In a Broach Gurjara grant the lineage is mentioned as that of Mahārāja Karṇa and antiquarians have interpreted Karṇa to mean Karṇa of the Mahābhārata. But I doubt it and as no grant contemporary or preceeding mentions the Vamśa this Karṇa was probably some early famous king only of the Gurjara family.

a restricted group. The names of modern Vaiśya subcastes again had not yet come into being and Maheśris and Agarvals were then unknown. The modern Vaiśyas of Nothern India divide themselves into 12½ castes and are also separated by an unbridgable barrier from the Vaiśyas of the south. But in the seventh century probably like the Brahmin and the Kshatriyas they also still formed one caste only throughout India. Their distinctive appellations or suffixes were Gupta and Bhūti according to the Smritis already quoted and other words were also used such as Vardhana. And lasty as regards profession some of the Vaiśya families had raised themselves still higher than traders and merchants and become kings by following the profession of arms. Of these remarkable families, the Guptas of Magadha must be taken to be the premier family. The greatest king in India in its post Buddhist history next to Aśoka who was a Śūdra was Samudra Gupta and he must be taken from the name ending to be a Vaiśya and similarly the greatest king next to Samudra Gupta after him was Harsha and he was undoubtedly a Vaiśya. The suffix Vardhana taken by his family indicated the Vaiśya caste and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang that Harsha was a Vaiśya is conclusive. Some Vaiśya families in those days therefore gave birth to heroes and statesmen and they were even distinguished by letters also as both Samudra Gupta and Harsha were certainly learned men. In mediœval and later history too, many Vaiśya families distinguished themselves on the battle-field and it seems that the modern Bais Rajputs of Oudh may be looked upon as the descendants of some of the heroic Vaiśya families of mediæval India though they derive their descent from the mythical Śalivahana king of Paithan in the south. The Guptas were spread over the whole of Northern India and names of warriors and statesmen in those days usually ended in Gupta, showing their high qualification for military posts.

Lastly we have to speak of the Śūdras whose occupation, according to Hiuen Tsang was agriculture. In days preceding the Christian era, agriculture was the occupation of

the Vaiśyas while menial service alone was left to the Śūdra caste. The spread of Buddhist sentiment witn its aversion to the taking of life must be held responsible for this change of occupation. The ploughing of land in which action worms and insects are inevitably killed was gradually looked upon as sinful and was eventually prohibited to the Dvijas: a prohibition which is even mentioned in Manu. These classes hence withdrew gradually from agriculture and left it in the hands of the Śūdras. In the Panjab and elsewhere, however, several communities did not mind this prohibition, and hence their sinking in public esiimation to the rank of the Śūdras. As already described the Jats, the Gujars and the Marathas who are agriculturists, are thus, though Aryan in race, looked down upon as Śūdras. The original Dravidian population of the land became now the agriculturists of the country and of course formed the great Śūdra class. The lower population in Northern India and the west is thus, speaking generally, chiefly Dravidian with a large mixture of the Aryan race. In the south or the Madras Presidency the influx of the Aryan population in remote times was not considerable and there the agricultural populotion is wholly Dravidian.

Besides the agriculturists there were many classes whose profession was labour of varied kinds and these classes were probably of mixed origin. These are noticed by Hiuen Tsang as innumerable. Those who called themselves neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas, neither Vaisyas nor Śūdras were probably included by him in these mixed classes. "There are", he observes, "numerous classes formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described." (Watters p. 168). Their number indeed, then as now, must have been counted by hundreds and hence Hiuen Tsang's despairing remark that they cannot be described. Mixed castes with special occupations have been described in several Smritis also and each division mentioned therein again divided itself probably into subdivisions according to minor diversity of occupation, and their number gradually increased. They were of course a mixture of the Dravidian and Aryan races, but the mixture must

have taken place long before the time of which we write for marriages were now generally restricted to each class or caste as noticed above.

We cannot close this chapter without noticing the existence, even then, of the "untouchables," or what are now called in the south the Panchamas or the fifth class. They are described by Hiuen Tsang as follows:—" Butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers have their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign. They are forced to live outside the city and they sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets." (Watters Vol 1 p. 147). The practice of compelling these untouchables to live outside the towns and villages must of course be traced back to even the Vedic times for the Brāhmaṇas speak of the Chāndālas living beyond the skirts of towns and villages and of their habitations as not fit to be visited by the Aryans. The professions too of the Chāndālas were from Vedic times much the same as above described with the exception of butchers and fishermen who perhaps were now added to the list of the untouchables in consequence of their profession of taking life, in response to the prevailing Buddhist sentiment. These depressed classes were probably composed of the lowest dregs of the Dravidian races having filthy habits and living on carrion. But in the Panjab and Rajputana a mixture of the Aryan race even among these was prominently discovered at the Census of 1901 when anthropometric measurements were taken by Sir H. Risley. The Chamars and the Chaurahas of the Panjab are found to be distinctly Aryan in type and possibly these have been degraded solely in consequence of their profession in Buddhistic times before the period of which we are treating. Or, as the Smritis declare, the progeny of pratiloma marriages especially of Brahmin women with Sūdra husbands though they must have been rare must have joined the ranks of the Chāndālas and thus infused Aryan blood even in their veins.

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NOTE.

JATS, GUJARS AND MARATHAS.

The question whether Jats, Gujars and Marathas are Aryan or Scythian is strangely enough still being controverted. It admits, however, according to our view of one solution only *viz.*, that they cannot but be Aryans. This view is based chiefly on anthropometrical considerations and it is also supported by history. It is indeed strange that even after the publication of Sir H. Risley's views based on anthropometric measurements taken at the Census of India in 1901 their origin should still be a matter of controversy. Those measurements clearly show that the noses of Jats and Gujars are distinctly fine and that their heads are long. It is sometimes argued by Sir H. Risley's opponents that noses might be made fine and heads may be lengthened by manupulation. But this argument cuts off the very ground from under the feet of the science of Anthropometry. If noses could be made fine very few people in India would have had flat noses, for fine noses are prized all over the country and even by the Dravidians. It is because noses and heads cannot be manupulated and have an ineradicable tendency to persist in different races, that anthropometry has any value as a science. We will, therefore, detail the anthropometrical argument first and then see whether history supports or contradicts the inferences derivable from it.

The following remarks of Sir H. Risley in his Census Report for 1901 (p. 498) are pertinent in this connection. "The broad nose of the Negro or the Dravidian is his most striking feature. This broad type of the nose is most common in Madras, the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpore. Fine noses are confined to the Panjab and Rajputana, while the population of the rest of India tends to fall in the medium class. The pastoral Gujars of the Panjab have an index of 66·9, the Sikhs of 68·9 and the Bengal Brahmins and Kayasthas 70, while the average nasal proportions of the Māl Pahāria type are expressed by the figure 94·5. In other words the typical Dravidian as represented by the Māl Pahāria has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro; while this feature in the Indo-Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of 68 Parisians measured by Topinard which gave an average of 69·4."

From this passage we clearly see that while the people of the Panjab and Rajputana are unquestionably Aryan by race, those of the Bombay Presidency including the Marathas, and of Bengal and the U.P. are distinctly so. And the Gujars of the Panjab stand first with regard to the fineness of the nose their index (66·9) being lower than that of even the Parisians. And yet the Gujars are looked upon by some as

Scythians. The similarity of sound has often misled antiquarians into strange theories and the attempt to identify the Gujars with the Khizar is not less strange than the now generally abandoned identification of the Jats with the Gætæ. It is here that anthropometry and also history should step in to correct such wrong identification. That they do serve to dispel such misconception in the case of Jats and Gujars we have not the smallest doubt. The Jats are distinctly included by Sir H. Risley among the Indo-Aryans as their "type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India *viz.* heads long and noses narrow and prominent but not specially long." (Census R. 1901 p. 500.) Their stature is also tall, and their complexion is fair and as Nesfield has observed if appearance goes for anything, the Jats could not but be Aryans." The case of the Gujars also falls in the same category. They are men with finest noses in India and with long heads and tall statures. They are no doubt dark in complexion but complexion does not count much in the determination of race. "The most important points to be observed in the Indo-Aryan series of measurements are the great uniformity of type, and the very slight differences between the higher and lower groups." And this type is so persistent that the Jats and the Gujars wherever they are found present the same characteristics of head, nose and stature and even complexion. Under these circumstances ethnologically speaking the Jats and the Gujars are decidedly Aryan in race and similarity of sound in names ought not to mislead us into believing them to be descendants of the *Gætæ* or Khizars who were undoubtedly Mongolian in race.

The Marathas present less distinctive characteristics, yet they must be classed among the Aryo-Dravidians and not as Scytho-Dravidian as Sir H. Risley strangely enough has done. Their heads are broad; but the head is not the determining factor in the assignment of race. The Mongolians have indeed broad heads but some of the Aryan races too have broad heads such as the Celts. The Census Report for 1911 expresses a doubt as to the conclusion of Sir H. Risley that the Marathas are Scythians and adverts to the opinion of ethnologists that they are probably descendants of Alpine Aryans. (Haddon, Wanderings of people) The second race of Aryan invaders of India who principally settled in the U.P. and the Deccan appear to have been Aryans with broad heads. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the medium heads of the people of the U.P. who are looked upon by Sir H. Risley as Aryo-Dravidians. The Dravidians have long heads and if they mixed with the first race of Aryan invaders with long heads who are to be found in the Panjab and Rajputana the mixture of these races, both with long heads, cannot lead to medium heads. We have, therefore, perforce to hold that the second horde of Aryans who came into the U. P. and who mixed themselves with the Dravidian people there were Aryans with broad heads.

The head, however, as we have said above and as has been observed by Sir H. Risley himself, is not the most distinctive sign of race. The

feature most distinctive of race is the nose. The nose distinguishes the Aryan both from the Dravidian and the Mongolian types. The fine nose of the Aryan is distinct from the broad nose of the Dravidian and the flat nose of the Scythian. The flatness of the Scythian or Mongolian face strikes every observer as the root of the nose does not appreciably rise above the level of the eyes. To measure this rise the orbito-nasal index has been invented by anthropometrists and this index has been used, at Sir William Fowler's suggestion; especially where there is reason to suspect intermixtrue with the Mongolian type. (Census Report 1901 p. 497). To determine, therefore, if the Marathas have any Scythian or Mogolian blood in them we have to look to this index. Let us see what the indices are in this connection. The flat-faced Mongolians are called platyopic, their index being below 110 Those who have indices between 110 and 112·9 are called mesopic, while those whose index is 113 or above are called pro-opic. The last can have no mixture with Mongolian blood. Now all the members of the Indo-Aryan type are placed by their high averages in the pro-opic group (Census Report for 1901 page 602) and thus it is impossible that the Jats and the Gujars can have any Mongolian blood in them. The case of the Marathas apparently presents some difficulty. Their orbito-nasal index is medium, that is they are mesopic and hence it is difficult to decide whether they have Scythian blood in their veins. For this mesopic nature of their nose may as well be due to mixture with Dravidian blood.* Moreover Aryan characteristics do tend to assert themselves in the Marathas whenever their position unproves as may be observed by every careful observer. the nose getting finer and higher at the bridge. We have treated of this subject at greater length in our book "Epic India" and it is sufficient to further remark here that the Census Report for 1911 has given up the classification of Marathas by Sir H. Risley as Scytho-Dravidians and tends to treat them as Aryo-Dravidians i. e. born of mixture of a broad-headed Aryan type with the Dravidian type

Historial considerations, we will now go on to show, support the conclusions thus far set forth on anthropometrical grounds, especially with regard to the doubtful case of the Marathas. The materials for constructing the ancient history of the Marathas are ample and trustworthy They have already been put together by noted scholars like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and others. The foremost observation to make is that the fact that the Aryans did enter into and settle in the Deccan long before the beginning of the Christain era, is universally

* In fact as the Dravidians are not pro-opic, their mixture with Scythians cannot lead to the Mesopic nature of the Maratha nose. If at all the Marathas should have been treated by Sir H. Risley as Scytho-Aryans. As already shown with regard to the head Sir H. Risley was misled with regard to the Marathas apparently owing to his prejudice against them. observable in his remarks about them in the Census Report (1901).

accepted by all scholars. On the other hand, history tells us that the Śakas or Scythians invaded the Deccan in the first century A. D. and that their stay in the Deccan was limited to about 25 years only, being finally driven away by Sātavāhana Gautamī-putra of Paithana. If this is so how can the people of the Deccan be Scytho-Dravidian? How is it that the Aryans who settled in the province long before the Scythians came have left no trace of their blood in the population? That they settled here is a fact which can not be gainsaid. The history of this settlement of the Deccan by the Aryans is given by Sir R. Bhandarkar as follows: "The first and the oldest Aryan province in the southern country was Vidarbha or Berar. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata show that Vidarbha was inhabited when Dandakāraṇya or Mahārāshtra proper was a forest". (Bhandarkar's History of the Deccan page 314.) It may be added that the people who settled in Vidarbha were called Bhoja, that Damayantī was the daughter of a Bhoja king and that Nala when showing, in the Mahābhārata, to Damayanti the way to her father's country, distinctly points to Berars.

The Aryans hereafter settled in the Dandakāraṇya or Mahārāshtra proper the chief river of which is the Godavari. The original inhabitants being few, the language of the new settlers became the language of the people generally though in a corrupt or Prākrit form. As the country to the south of the Krishna was more populously inhabited by Dravidians, it became the boundary, so to speak, of the Aryan settlement as also of the Aryan language. Bands of settlers no doubt penetrated further south down to Cape Comorin and impressed their Aryan civilization and religion on the people but being few they could not impose their language upon them. On the contrary they adopted the language of the people there and even some of their customs. This in a nutshell is the account of the Aryan advance into the south. The Deccan being originally a forest and being settled principally by people of the Aryan race became Aryan in population and in speech while the portion to the south of the Krishna remained Dravidian in population and speech, a fact which squares in exactly with the ethnological aspect of the two parts of the southern peninsula.

The date of this settlement of the Aryans in the Deccan is placed by Sir R. Bhandarkar in about the 7th Century B. C. on incontrovertible grounds, especially on the fact that while places to the south of the Vindhya are not mentioned by Pāṇini they are added by Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas. We come to still firmer ground when we come to the inscriptions of Aśoka of the 3rd century B.C. as they distinctly mention the *Rāstikas* the Pettanikas and the Aparantas. The last is Northern Konkan and its then capital was Śūrpāraka. (It may be added that Buddhistic sacred books speak of Śūrpāraka and Paithana even before this time). Pettanikas are the people of Paithana or Pratishthāna and Rāstikas are the Rāshtrikas, who are clearly the ancestors of the

modern Marathas. Aśoka's inscriptions also speak of the Bhojas. Now as the Kuden inscription speaks of Mahābhojas also, in the same way the Rāshtrikas must have spoken of themselves as Mahārāshtrikas and the country in which they lived came to be called Mahārāshtra. "Thus a hundred years before Patanjali, the whole of the southern peninsula was in direct communication with the north. Mahārāshtra or Deccan had kingdoms governed by Rattas and Bhojas."

These Aryan settlers in Berar and the Deccan were Aryans of the Lunar race *i. e.* of the second race of Aryan invaders who came through the Gangetic basin and who principally occupied the hot lands of the Madhyadeśa to the south of the Ganges and the Jumna. We have this tradition preserved in the story of Śrikrishna given in the Harivamśa which is certainly the oldest Purāna extant. The Harivamśa says that when Śrīkrishna fled from Mathura against the threatened invasion of the city by Jarāsandha he was asked to go to the four countries in the Deccan which were founded by four sons of Yadu. These four sons of Yadu by Nāga wives it is said had founded four kingdoms one in Māhishmatī, another on the tableland of Sahyādri, a third in Banavāsi and the fourth in Ratnapura on the southernmost sea. This tradition clearly indicates that the people who settled in the Deccan and southwards along the west coast were people born of Aryan fathers and Dravidian mothers. With regard to the Bhojas of Berar, the Mahābhārata says that Rukmī was king of the Dākshinātyas and was a Bhoja king. Thus Puranic tradition clearly indicates that the Bhojas and the Rattas were born of Aryans of the Lunar race. Foreign evidence also substantiates the same theory. In the Periplus, this part of the country is described as Ariake or the country of the Aryas, a name given probably on set purpose to distinguish it from Damarike *i. e.* the country of the Dravidians immediately to the south of it.

We are not concerned here with the political history of Mahārāshtra which we will detail in the next book but we may advert to it in a general way in order to show how this tradition of the Bhojas and Rattas being descended from Aryans and Aryans of the lunar race continued to be entertained among the people down to the 7th century A.D. In the time of Agnimitra (2nd Century B.C.) Vidarbha was ruled by Mādhava Sena and Yajna Sena names clearly Aryan and Kshatriya. From the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. Mahārāshtra was ruled by the Sātavabanas who called themselves Āndhrabhrityas but the people were called Rattas and Mahārāthīs as inscriptions of their time testify. After these Āndhrabhrityas who themselves were Aryo-Dravidians as we shall show hereafter, the Rāshtrikas again asserted their independence and it seems certain that from the 3rd century A. D. down to the 6th Rāshtrakūta kings ruled in the Deccan, for the Chālukyas in their inscriptions say that they established their power by

conquering a Rāshtrakūta. Now the Rāshtrakūtas are in inscriptions represented as descendants of Sātyaki, a Yadava well-known in the Purānas, while the Jādhavas or Yādavas represent themselves as descendants of Srikrishna himself. Thus the two leading Maratha families who ruled Mahārāshtra entertained the tradition that they were Yādavas. Hence it may be said that the Marathas by long tradition believed themselves to be Aryans by descent.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his history of the Deccan says the same thing. "We have seen from cave inscriptions," says he, "that from remote times, tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Rāshtrikas or Rattis were predominent in the country. In the northern part of the Deccan they called themselves Mahārathis. But in other parts the name was Rattis, since we know that many modern chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country call themselves Rattis. Some of these tribes must have called themselves, Rāshtrakūta. The Rāshtrakūta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the Kshatriyas who gave their name to the country and who were found in it even in the time of Aśoka (P. 62.) "The Rāshtrakūtas," Sir Bhandarkar goes on to add "the real native rulers of the country were sometimes eclipsed by enterprizing princes of foreign origin such as the Sātavāhanas and the Chālukyas." We have already adverted to the Sātavāhanas and they were from Āndhra and therefore foreign to Mahārāshtra, but they were Aryo-Dravidians as we shall show and we may now go on to see who the Chālukyas were. These too appear of foreign origin, but they were Aryans and Sir R. Bhandarkar by foreign merely means foreign to Mahārāshtra.

The Chālukyas ruled principally form Badāmi in the Southern Maratha Country but they were not Dravidians; they were pure Aryans from the north and belonged to the solar race of Ayodhya. This tradition has been preserved by Bilhana in the Vikramānkadevacharita and is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Hiuen Tsang clearly says that Pulakeshin II whom he visited was a Kshatriya and belonged to the Mahārāshtra country. The inscriptions of these Chālukyas themselves state that they were born in the Mānavya gotra and were Hāritīputras. What Hāritīputras meant we will try to elucidate when we come to their political history, but the Mānavya-gotra indicates the tradition that they belonged to the Solar race. The Chālukyas of the north are represented by Chanda bard of Prithvirāja as belonging to the Agnikula. The theory of Chanda about Agnikulas has been proved to be unfounded (we believe that the Rāsā itself is misunderstood on this point as we shall have to show in our next volume) and that the four Agnikula families really belong to other races the only Agnikula family being the Paramārs with the Vasishta gotra. For the Chālukyas of Mahārāshtra are shown in inscriptions to have married into the Rāshtrakūta family. In a grant of Dantidurga

of the Rāshtrakūta family (J. B. R. A. S. Vol. II) it is said that the queen of Indra belonged to the Lunar race on the mother's side and to the Shalikya race on the father's (राज्ञी सोमान्वयी तस्य पितृतश्च शालिक्यजा). This opposition indicates the fact that the Chālukyas were looked upon as belonging to the Solar race. The eastern Chālukyas represented themselves as born of the Lunar race. Whether they belonged or not to the Lunar race it is certain that inscriptions of date earlier than Chand show that they were not looked upon as Agnikulas which affords to some a ground to believe that they were foreigners admitted into the Kshatriya caste by purification in fire. Chālukyas are in our view clearly Aryans and of the Solar race.

It is remarkable indeed that this tradition of race is still preserved among the Marathas of even modern days. It is well-known that the 96 *kulis* of Marathas believe in three *vanśas* viz., Soma, Surya, Śesha plainly proving that the Marathas are Aryo-Dravidians, and not Scytho-Dravidians. Now strangely enough the Chālukyas or Chalakes who are still one of the leading Maratha families are still assigned to the Surya-vamśa, see the noted *pothi* issued from Kolhapur and called क्षात्रवंशनागर or मराठा शहाण्णव कुळी. Now another Maratha family *viz.* the Kadams who are plainly the Kadambas of ancient inscriptions assigned in them to the same मानव्य gotra as the Chālukyas (Ind. Ants VI page 24) are also assigned to the Suryavamśa in the above book of the modern Marathas. These facts prove that these 96 families' traditions of the Marathas are not imaginary productions but are supported by inscriptional records which go back to the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. According to both of them the Chālukyas and the Kadambas are Solar race Kshatriyas while the Jādhavas and the Rāshtrakūtas (Ratakute in the modern Maratha books represented by भाटे, राष्ट्रराठे &c., see क्षात्रवंश नागर page 45) are believed to be Lunar race Kshatriyas.

History and tradition, therefore, does not contradict the inference drawn from the features of the Marathas that they are Aryo-Davidians. There can be no Scythian blood in their veins and their Aryan blood is prominent. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar has shown that the ancient Aryans settled and founded kingdoms in Mahārāshtra, that there was one incursion of the Scythian or Śakas about the beginning of the Christian era but within a few years Gautamīputra defeated and drove them away and 'left no rumnant of the race of Khagārāta'. Inscriptional records of the Chālukyās, the Rāshtrakūtas and the Yādavas show that they belonged to the Solar or Lunar races of Kshatriyas, and the modern representatives of these Maratha families the Jādhavas, the Chālkes or Salankhis, the Kadams, the Bhaleraos and others still maintain the same tradition of race We are justified in holding that a tradition continuing after so many centuries must be accepted and it proves in our view indisputably that the Marathas are Aryans. If there is any mixture in their blood it is of the original people belonging to the Nāga vamśa or the Dravidian race.

all tall and with fine features, though dark in complexion. The tall beautiful Khazars are on the other hand very fair and not dark like the Gujars. They again are allied to the Finns and the Urgas, and must be Mongolian in face as indeed the Huns were. But the Gujars can never be said to be Mongolian in face, their features especially the nose being distinctly Aryan.

The history again of the Khazars as detailed in this article does not show that they ever left their country, like the Śakas, the Yue-chi or the Huns. "Throughout the 6th century Khazaria was a mere highway for the wild hordes, to whom the Huns had opened the passages into Europe and the Khazars took refuge (like the Venetians from Attila) "among the seventy months of the Volga" Then again we are told that their county bordered on Persia and Byzantine, the southern boundary of which never greatly varied and they were for the most part restricted within the couped up area". It is therefore difficult *to believe* that the Khazars ever came to India. It is certain that history contains no mention of their having done so.

The disposition and the occupation of the Khazars seem also to differ diametrically from those of the Gujars. As above quoted "they were the Venitians of the Caspian and the Black Sea, a civil commercial people and founders of cities" The Gujars on the other hand are nomadic peoples and cattle breeders by profession. They in fact never trade and are not a city settled people with elaborate civil organisation. It seems clear, therefore, that the Khazars could not have been the forefathers of the Gujars of India. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has certainly been misled by similarity of sound and by the mere mention of Khazars along with Huns in western history.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's other arguments adduced in his paper need not be scrutinized, as they do not pertain to historical considerations. *We need not stop to see whether Gurjara, the Sanskrit* word, has been coined from Gujar by Sanskritists though apparently there is no reason why they should have done so, for they could have pronounced Gujar as well as Gurjara, or whether Gujar, Gūjar, Gurjara names still surviving are the natural Prakrit forms coming out of an original Sanskrit word Gurjara. But it is necessary to examine his opinion carefully whether Gujars being known as foreigners could have, owing to their success in conquest, been admitted by Hindus to the rank of Kshatriyas. Hiuen Tsang distinctly mentions that the king of Gurjara (Bhinmāl) was a Kshatriya. "This is interesting" observes Mr. Bhandarkar "that as early as the first half of the seventh century *i. e.* about a century after their coming into India the Gujars had become Hindus and had actually acquired the rank of Kshatrips" Ordinarily the inference should have been the opposite of this viz. that the Gujars could not have been foreigners as they could not have succeeded in gaining the status of Kshatriyas within a hundred years of their

coming into India. For we are historically certain that caste was not so fragile in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. The inscriptions of the Guptas and even of Harsha's father show that kings were particular in preserving the purity of caste (see Varṇavyavasthāpanapara applied to Prabhākara Vardhana Ep. In. Vol. V. p. 200.) Mr. Bhandarkar similarly twists a third fact into an argument in support of his theory, though it is in reality an argument against him. The Gujara Gauda Brahmins are also foreigners according to Mr. Bhandarkar. The argument that foreigners becoming kings could enter the Kshatriya caste might be plausible though even that is weak but they could not become Brahmins for there could not have been any incentive to admit them as Brahmins. Moreover the Khazars do not appear to have had castes among them. Hence why should some Khazars alone become Brahmins? The fact that there is an ancient class of Brahmins called Gujar Gaud is an argument for holding that the Gujars were an Aryan people with their usual four castes. This also explains how there are Gujar Bānias and Gujar cultivators or Gujar Sutārs (carpenters) and so on. The existence of a Gujar Karhada Brahmin family is also of no importance as it may have got that name by even residence in Gujar country as the addition of the surname पटवर्धन suggests.

Mr. Bhandarkar's fourth argument is still more strange and based on wrong information and wrong inference. (Padihāra is the usual Prākrit form of प्रतिहार and yet Mr. Bhandarkar takes the opposite line and says that Pratihara is the Sanskritzed form of पडिहार. Why again we ask should Sanskrit change पडिहार into Pratihara? But this is by the bye) An inscription from Jodhpur gives the origin of Padihars as follows. There was a Brahmin who married two wives a Brahmin woman and a Kshatriya woman. The descendants of the Brahmin woman are called Brahmin Padihars while the descendants of the Kshatriya woman are called Kshatriya Padhihars. "The marriage of a Brahmin" says Mr. Bhandarker, "with a Kshatriya woman with the result as related in this inscription is curious *and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation.* How this inference follows from the first premise will be a puzzle to many. Moreover the marriage of a Brahmin with a Kshatriya woman is not curious. It is provided for in Smṛitis and it once was a living practice in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries as many inscriptions (see Corp In III) as stated further on show. And the result was exactly as stated here; the sons of the Brahmin women became Brahmins and of the Kshatriya women became Kshatriyas. As Brahmins and Kshatriyas ate the same food even up to the 7th century such marriages were not offensive. The history of the development of the caste system in India may be given here in a nutshell. The race being the same, caste in ancient times among the Aryans was merely occupational. Hence Brahmins often married Kshatriya wives. In oldest times their progeny was treated as of the Brahmin caste. By degrees, however, caste became rigid and the progeny of such marriages

appear to him to be foreigners. If Chāhumāns and Padhihārs and Paramārs and Chālukyas are said to have come from Ahichhatra they appear to him to be foreigners. But Ahichhatra was a famous centre of Aryan settlement and civilization being the capital of the Pāñchālas so well-known in the Vedic literature and it is not at all strange that Kshatriyas and Brahmins should represent themselves as coming from Ahichhatra. One fails to see, however, how this tradition of coming from Ahichhatra can make any people *foreigners*. One is constrained to set down Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar's theory especially about the Gujars as absurd and there is, to sum up, nothing in hi·· ry to show that Gujars were foreigners or Khazars, or that they came into India from outside along with the Huns of the fifth or sixth century A. D. Their anthropometrical characteritics are purely Aryan, and history does not at all contradict this inference.

Lastly we have to speak adout the Jats. Their ethnological charateristics also, as we have already seen, are clearly Aryan. They are fair, tall, high-nosed and long-headed. Does their history contradict their being Aryans? It may be stated at once that the Jats have very little history of their own till we come to quite recent times when the present Jat kingdoms both Hindus and Sikhs in the U. P. and the Panjab were founded. But the Jats have the oldest mention of the three. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as Jartas (जर्टाः) in the Karṇaparva. The next mention we have of them is in the sentence अजयजर्टो हूणान् in the grammar of Chandra of the fifth century And this shows that the Jats were the enemies of the Huns and not their friends. The Jats opposed and defeated the Huhs ; they must, therefore, have been the inhabitants of the Panjab and not invaders or intruders along with the Huns. Does the above sentence indicate that Yaśodharma of Mandsaur inscription who decisively defeated the Huns was a Jat? He may have been so a Jats have been known to have migrated into the country of the Mālava, or Central India as into Sind. But this is not material to our inquiry. The sentence amply shows that the Jats were not invaders along with the Huns but were their opponents. Nay it may be taken for certain that the Jats are the Viś of the Vedas. They are even now preeminently agriculturists. Agriculturists in Vedic times were Aryan and classed as the Vaiśya caste.* The warrior class or Kshatriyas frequently married Vaiśya wives being immediately below them. This custom has obtained throughout ancient times and is still preserved and Rajputs frequently take Jat wives. The almost innate sense of caste prejurdice in India has greatly prevented the mixture of races (Rajputs and Jats are of the same Aryan race) and the Jats have preserved their Aryan race almost uncontaminated. Though treated as Śūdras by modern opinion owing to their being agriculturists. and the practice of widow marriage they are the purest Aryans in India and belong to the first race of Aryac

* Al-Beruni says that Nanda the reputed father of Krishṇa was a Jat.

invaders according to our view, the Solar race of Aryans who originally invaded and settled in the Panjab, being the first settlement of the Indo-Aryans in this country. The following remarks of R. G. Letham in 'Ethnology of India' page 254 may here be usefully quoted: "As a general rule a Rajput is a Hindu and a Jat a Mahomedan. As a general rule a Jat is also a peaceable cultivator. For all this, the Jat is in blood neither more nor less than a converted Rajput and vice versa; a Rajput may be a Jat of the ancient faith. That other difficrences might have been effected by this difference of creed is likely; the difference between arms and tillage as profession, between haughty automony and submissive dependence are sure in course of time to tell upon temper and the features." It may be added "that conversion from Hinduism to Islam has not necessarily the slightest effect upon caste and that the Mahomedan Jats are still as caste-ridden at the Hindu Jats."

We may in conclusion quote some remarks of Sir D. Ibbetson from his "Punjab castes" (1916) regarding Jats and Gujars. "It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jat entered India at different periods, though to my mind, the term Rajput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do represent two separate waves of immigration, it is exceedingly probable, both from their *almost identical physique and facial character* and from the close communion which has always existed between them that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock." "It is certain that the joint Jat Rajput stock is in the main Aryo-Scythian if Scythian be not Aryan". (Page 100). So again about Gujars he writes: "The Gujars are the eighth largest caste in the Punjab, only the Jats, Rajputs, Pathans, Arains and Brahmins among the higher and Chamars and Chuhras among the lower exceeding them. They are fine, stalwart fellows *of precisely the same type as the Jat.* He is of the same social standing as the Jat perhaps slightly inferior and the two eat and drink in common without any scruple" (p. 184). It is, therefore, strange that inspite of the fact that every person who has had intimate acqaintance with the peoples of the Panjab has marked the ethnic identity of the Jats, Gujars and Rajputs plainly Aryan and not Scythian, theories have usually been propounded by scholars about their being Scythian, Getæ, Yue-chi, Khizar and what not and about their having come into India within historical times, nay, on this side even of the Christian era. There is not a scrap of historical evidence even to suggest much less to prove such immigration (there is neither foriegn mention of their coming into India nor have they any tradition of their own of sometime coming into India nor is there any historical Indian record, stone-inscription or other, of their so coming) and we can only ascribe such theories to that unaccountable bias of the minds of many European and native scholars, to assign a foreign and Scythic origion to every fine and energetic caste in India.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CONDITION

Having described the people we will now pass on to describe their social condition that is, their dress and ornaments, their customs and their manners. In these respects too, the days of Harsha stand as a dividing line between ancient and modern India, constituting as it were the last ring in the chain of ancient times. The dress of the people in India, is thus described by Hiuen Tsang. "The inner clothing and the outward attire of the people *have no tailoring.* As to colour, a fresh white is esteemed and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down. Some clip their mustachios or have other fantastic fashions. Garlands are worn on the head and necklaces on the body." (Watters Vol. I. p. 150) This shows first, that up to the days of Harsha tailoring had not yet been introduced into India. The clothing both of men and women consisted as of old of one piece of cloth wound about the loins, and taken up above one shoulder in the case of men and above both in that of women. The Uttarîya or the second or upper piece of cloth was used by both men and women sometimes but not necessarily as Hiuen Tsang does not mention it. This dress is noticed not only in the Manusmriti, but also by Greek writers. In fact, the Greeks themselves and even the Romans used only two long robes, similarly worn over the shoulders and falling fellow in folds. At the present day the one cloth dress of women has still remained in vogue in Bengal, in Madras and partially in Bomday *i. e.* in the east, the west and the south but has been substituted by a sewn petticoat in the north, though even there the women in their houses use often the one cloth covering. For men, the Dhoti or the lower cloth has still remained the

usual clothing used in public. Except in the south and west sewn clothes have now become the fashion; and for the upper clothing or uttarīya sewn clothes have everywhere been substituted. The institution of tailoring was probably introduced after Harsha's time by the Arabs in the eighth century and perhaps even later by the Turks in the eleventh.

How Hiuen Tsang's description is accurate to the last detail is borne out by the following description by Bāṇa of Harsha when he started on his *digvijaya* or expedition for universal conquest; "परिधाय राजहंसमिथुनलक्ष्मणी सदृशे दुकूले, परमेश्वरचिह्नभूतां शशिकलामिव कल्पयित्वा सितकुसुममुण्डमालिकाम्" H. C. page 274. "Harsha wore two like Dukūlas or fine cloth pieces marked with pairs of swans and wore round the top of his head, like the moon cresent on the head of Śiva, a garland of white flowers indicative of the sovereignty of the world." If two white fine garments marked with pairs of swans and a white garland on his head formed the auspicious dress of even a king áspiring to be an emperor, the dress of ordinary men in ordinary times could not have been anything else but two white cloth pieces, now-a-days called Dhotis (called so probably because they are daily washed). The custom of wearing garlands on the head like a crown has now ceased entirely, and the turban has been substituted for it. A turban, however, (Ushṇīsha) is spoken of in the Harsha Charita also and even in the Mahābhārata, but the description recorded by Megasthenes serves to indicate that the upper garment and the turban often formed one piece of cloth. It is probable, therefore, that no third cloth was ordinarily used for covering the head. The difference between the great and the low, the dress being the same two pieces of cloth, consisted in the fineness of its texture and the whiteness of its colour. Hiuen Tsang speaks of different fine cloths of wool, silk and cotton as follows ; "Kausheya being of silk, Kshauma a kind of linen, Kambala a texture of fine wool and Holala (or Horala ?) made from the wool of a wild animal," and I suppose cloth made of cotton. The art of making fine cloth of silk, wool and cotton had then reached per-

fection and it may be believed that cloth finer than that woven even now in England was then produced, as even now in cities of India like Dacca. This advance or perfection in the art of weaving is to be gathered from a description by Bāṇa of pieces of cloths collected for the marriage of Rājyashri. "क्षौमैश्च बादरैश्च दुकूलैश्च लालातन्तुजैश्चांशुकैश्च नैत्रैश्च निर्मोकनिभैर्निश्वासहार्यैः स्पर्शानुमेयैः वासोभिस्सर्वतः स्फुरदिन्द्रायुधसहस्रैरिव संच्छादितम् H. C. 202-3. "The palace was strewn with Kshauma (silk) Bādara (cotton) Dukūla (linen) Lālātantuja (?) Anśuka (?) Naitra (?) cloths glistening like serpent's skin, fit to be blown even by a breath and inferrable only by touch, of all colours of the rain-bow." Some of these materials of cloth cannot now be ascertained, but that the cloth was of the finest texture need not be doubted. The white was the colour esteemed by men but probably women liked different colours and different designs of patches of ornamentation such as pairs of swan mentioned above. Plain, borderless white cloth was, then as now, not liked by women for it appears that this sort of cloth was distinctive of widows.* Of course Buddhist monks and nuns wore simple cloth coloured red, though in this colour there must have been different shades in the different schools as Hiuen Tsang says that the size and colour of the plaits vary in different schools (Watters I page 150.) Jain recluses affected cloth coloured yellow and Hindu recluses or Sanyāsis used cloth coloured soiled red. These colours these three religions probably chose of purpose to distinguish themselves from one another. Plain white clothing of widows is noticed even in the Mahābhārata (Āsramavāsi Parva) when describing the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhritarāshtra. This distinctive colour of widow's clothing has now been thrown into shade by the red colour perhaps taken in imitation of Buddhist runs among the women of the south and by indigo colour by women in the north and west. Strangely enough white cloth is affected by and is distinctive of public women at the present day.

* See H. C. page 236. "परिधत्तां धवले वाससी वसुमती". Let the earth (widowed by the death of Prabhākara) wear white clothes.

If the Indian people wore simple dress they were very fond of ornaments. In fact the taste of the Indian people is in this respect exactly the reverse of the people of the west (who spend more on dress than on ornaments). Contrasted with the simplicity of their dress and habits Hiuen Tsang thus speaks of their ornaments, "The ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinery. Garlands and tiaras of precious stones are their head ornaments and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy merchantile people have only bracelets" (Watters I p. 51). Even now the rage for ornaments in India is excessive though perhaps want of gold and precious stones has now compelled men to go about without ornaments. But mercants, sardars and princes even now wear profusion of ornaments according to their means. The tiara, however, has now disappeared and properly enough as perhaps since the days of the Mahomedans there has been no crowned king as such, (except Shivaji alone) in India. Harsha is said by Bāna to have put on one bracelet indicative of his sovereignty but strangely enough is not said to have put on a crown. He was presented with a necklace of big pearls by Divākaramitra as a fitting person to wear such a priceless ornament. Armlets or Angadas have also not been noticed by Hiuen Tsang though they are by Bāṇa as also Kundalas and Keyūras or earrings (see Bāna's description of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta pages 197–198 where both are shown to have garlands on the heads and the first a bracelet and Keyūra and the latter a necklace.) The case of women is different. They, even the poorest in India, must have some ornaments on their person while as for rich women, they have a profusion of gold, pearl and stone ornaments.

We must give some further minor details given by Hiuen Tsang about dress and appearance. "Most of the people go bare-foot and shoes are rare". Women even now go bare-foot and even though they may afford to use shoes, while country people and poor men have perforce to do

so. "They stain their teeth red or black, wear their hair cut even, bore their ears, have *long noses and large eyes*, such are they in outward appearance." (Watters, Vol. I p. 151). The practice of boring the ears even now is, and must then have been universal for it is a practice prescribed by the Hindu Śastras and hence the appellation 'unbored' applied to people other than Hindus. As for the hair, the Brahmins must have usually shaved their heads as also their chins; but their description does not indicate so. Previously we are told, the hair on the head hang loose and hence they cannot have been cut even. This probably applied to the Kshatriyas and kings. The military officers allowed beards to grow and even wore whiskers. Bāṇa's description of the Commander-in-chief of Thanesar is very interesting in this respect. "शिरोरूढसटालः धवलस्थूलगुञ्जापिच्छप्रच्छादितकपोलभागभास्वरेण...मृतमपि हृदयस्थितं स्वामिनमिव सितचामरेण वीजयन्ताभिलम्बेन कूर्चकलापेन" "with tangled hair on the head, his cheeks covered with white bunches of whiskers and with his long white beard falling on his breast, as if fanning his master seated in the heart, though dead, with a chāmara" H. C. p. 257–258.

We will now go on to describe the manners and customs of the Indian people and will speak first of their marriage customs. The foremost observation to make in this respect is that the custom of child-marriages had yet not arisen in India. Had it been otherwise Hiuen Tsang would undoubtedly have mentioned it as he mentions the custom of the prohibition of widow marriage. From Bāna's description of the marriage of Rājyaśrī also the same inference can be drawn. Rājyaśrī was married when she was physically fit to be married and consummation of marriage is spoken of on the day of marriage itself. Perhaps it may be argued that this was Kshatriya fashion but apparently there was no difference between Brahmins and Kshatriyas in this respect. Bāṇa himself married the grown up sister of Mayūra as tradition relates. In this matter also Harsha's times thus are the parting link be-

tween ancient and modern India as hereafter we shall see that child marriage was gradually introduced.

The description of Rājyaśrī's marriage ceremony given by Bāṇa *in the* Harsha Charita *is* indeed masterly, poetical, picturesque and true to fact and nature. The extreme anxiety of the parents, all powerful as they were, is graphically described, and the grand preparations made on the occasion. It appears that it was then the custom for intending bridegrooms to demand girls in marriage. (In modern India the contrary practice holds the ground among the higher classes at least.) The father or guardian of the girl then chose from among the suitors the best, chiefly on account of high family and then poured water on the hand of the emissary solemnly declaring the gift of the girl. The bridegroom and his party thereafter came to the town of the bride and were suitably lodged. On an auspicious day and at an auspicious time (astrology then being as powerful as now) fixed by the astrologers, the bridegroom came in procession to the house of the bride and was received at the door by the bride's father, conducted to the assembly and duly honoured. The Kshatriyas apparently observed *purdah* then as now and the actual marriage took place in the *purdah* where Brahmins were admitted. The immortal Bāṇa describes the bride anxiously waiting near the marriage Vedi surrounded by her companions and incessantly chiding both her own heart and the companions for prompting her to raise her head to have a look at the bridegroom, as he entered the inner apartment. For Indian brides then as now usually hung down their heads before the bridegrooms. At the arrival of the exact auspicious moment the bride and bride-grooms joined hands, kindled the sacrificial fire, threw in it the oblations of Lājā or fried rice and walked the seven steps constituting life-long friendship, the most vital part of the ceremony of marriage according to the Smṛitis. The bride and bridegroom then bowed to their parents and elderly ladies and relations and Brahmins. Strangely enough Bāṇa does not describe that there was a feast hereafter. He describes

their repairing to the Āvāsa griha or specially prepared decorated honeymoon room where they passed their first night of conjugal happiness. The bridegroom is described by Bāṇa as residing for about 8 or 10 days hereafter at the father-in-law's house and trying to gratify in every way his mother-in-law. He then departed with his bride after receiving suitable presents, servants and paraphernalia, to his own country.

From the above detailed description it will appear that although the ritual of marriage has remained almost the same, there is a difference in the then and the present custom of marriage in two important points namely, that then the bridegroom usually sought the bride and secondly that consummation took place on the first day of marriage indicating of course that the girls were grown up at the time of marriage.

The next observation to make with regards to marriage is that women once married could not be remarried, at least, in the three higher castes as now. But the tonsure of widows is apparently a custom later than the times of Bāṇa, for in one place, Bāṇa speaks of the peculiar Veṇi. *i. e.* braid of hair of widows, see चमातु वैधव्यवेणीं वरमनुष्यता. H. C. p. 236. What this particular mode of Veṇi or braid of hair of widows was, there is no indication. In the Rāmāyaṇa we have the expression एकवेणीधरा applied to Sītā when she was in Rāvaṇa's house separated from her husband and this kind of Veṇi is also frequently mentioned by poets in connection with women whose husbands are away. Happier women put on the three braided Veṇi but what difference was made between the Ekaveni of wives with husbands living but away and the Veṇi of widows we cannot discover. Widows had also, as already stated, a distinctive colour of their clothes, namely, the white, other women wearing coloured clothes and clothes with borders probably.

The custom of enforced widowhood, *not accompanied* by that of child marriage must not then have been felt a

grievance though pitiable instances of women widowed in early age like Rājyasrī must have occurred now and then. To these women Buddhism offered an asylum and the order of Buddhist nuns must have been principally composed of such women. Though thus enforced widowhood did not then exist in its cruellest form, we have to notice another inhuman custom which appears to have then obtained from the writings of poets and even the descriptions of Bāna in the Harsha Charita. Widows of kings conquered and slain in battle appear to have been reduced to the condition of servitude in the family of the conqueror. It is no wonder, therefore, such women often preferred death to servitude. It is strange that the woes of the widows of conquered kings are a favourite topic for the poet's art to exhibit itself. Widow marriage not being allowed, such women in the family of the conqueror might have also often been reduced to the condition of concubines. The harems of kings, it must also be noticed, consisted of a number of wives and a still larger number of concubines or courtezans. The latter, of course, easily exchanged their position with one king for that with another and greater king.* But that the widowed queens of conquered kings should usually have been reduced to the status of servants and sometimes of concubines seems rather strange and cruel compared with the otherwise well ordered and moral condition of the Hindu society and we would not have believed in it, but for such passages as the following one from Bāna, आपीतो युष्मद्विधैः पुत्रैरमित्रकलत्रवन्दिवृन्द-विधूयमान-चामर-मरुच्चल चीनांशुकधरौ पयोधरौ H. C. P. 231.

With these exceptions the condition of women was generally very good. They were well treated and well educated. Rājyaśri was well versed in various Kalas and Śāstras and was a learned lady. Nay she was taught singing and dancing (H. E. page 197) arts which are now looked down upon as prohibited to respectable women in the Hindu society. Bāna's description of the dancing of

* See the mention of the concubines of the king of Malwa who was conquered and killed by Rājya, presented by Bhandi to Harsha. अन्तरम् इव बहुमदरस सम्भारभरितानि [illegible]. H. C. P. 302

the ladies of sardars and princes on the joyous occasion of the birth of Harsha is remarkable. Of course the dancing of such respectable women was different from that of public women and was not open to men to gaze at. And the dancing of men and women together did not exist as may be gathered from the fact that purdah was in force in those days and hence mixed gatherings of men and women were impossible.

The custom of Sati was of course prevalent. And Harsha's mother is discribed by Bāṇa to have burnt herself even before her husband was actually dead. The practice of burning oneself in fire, was resorted to even by men who did so often to express their intense affection for a deceased master, or for the mere sake of merit or to avoid misery and pain. Bāṇa describes Rājyaśrī as about to burn herself in her *destitution and also the friends of* Prabhākaravardhana like his physician Rāsāyana and some of his favouite ministers and servants burning themselves before or after his death much in the manner of the Japanese minister who shot himself after the death of the last Mikado. These discriptions of Bāṇa might have been treated as mere poetical hyperbole had it not been for corroborating epigraphic evidence. In the Aphsad inscription (Crop. Ins. Vol. III P. 225) we find king Kumāra Gupta burning himself in fire at Prayāga. Why he did so does not appear, but from the fact that he burnt himself at Prayāga, he may be believed to have done so merely for the merit of it. "शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतोंघने । अम्भसीवकरिष्यामी मग्नः सः पुष्पपूजितः" The contempt of death exhibited in these acts of self-sacrifice is indeed remarkable. Then there were other modes of putting an end to one's life, such as falling from a precipice or swallowing dire poison and so on. These are described even in the Mahābhārata and the custom of putting an end to one's life for various allowable reasons seems to be very ancient.*

* As for instance Arjuna's preparation to burn himself in a fire for not being able to kill Jayadratha or the Prāyopaveśana of Bhūrishravā on the battlefield (smothering oneself to death). The custom of self-immolation at Prayāga is described even by Hiuen Tsang.

We will lastly speak of the funeral customs of the people. The dead were usually burnt on pyre, except perhaps in the case of hermits whose dead bodies were buried. On the third or tenth day bits of bones of the burnt body were collected and generally sent to some sacred place to be thrown into a river or pond considered sacred. Srāddhas were performed at which Brahmins were fed and gifts of several kinds were made to Brahmins. It does not, however, appear that the gifts mentioned in modern Purāṇas and later books had then come into vogue. The following passage from Bāna's Harsha Charita describing what was done at the time of the obsequies of the deceased Prabhākara father of Harsha will show this—"अथ भुक्ते प्रथमप्रेतपिण्डभुजि द्विजन्मनि गतेष्वुद्वेजनीयेष्वाशौचादिवसेषु, चक्षुर्दाहदायिनि दीयमाने द्विजेभ्यः शयनासनचामरातपत्रामत्रपत्रशस्त्रादिके नृपतिनिकटोपकरणकलापे नीतेषु तीर्थस्थानानि सह जनहृदयैः कीकसेषु, वनाय विसर्जिते महाजिजिति राजगजेन्द्रे H. C. p. 241 "When the Brahamin (one) eating the first oblation to the dead had been feasted, when the bed, the seat, the Chāmara, the umbrella, the drinking bowl, the carriages and the arms and other belongings of the deceased monarch, which could not be looked at without pain, had been given away to Brahmins, when his bones had been sent to a holy place and when the great riding elephant of the king, who had won many battles had been let off in the jungles.". This speaks it may be noticed, of only one Brahmin being fed, it speaks of the royal elephant as let off, not given in gift and of the king's belongings being given away to Brahmins, not because they would be of use to his soul in its progress across the river of the Dead in the Yamaloka, but because their sight gave impetus to grief. This description of the obsequies of even a great king will show that the Garuda Purāṇa theory of gifts of various things for the benefit of the soul had not yet arisen. The expression सुधानिचयचिते चिताचैत्यचिन्हे which we have omitted from the above quotation is somewhat difficult to understand but it seems that the custom of raising some temple at the place of burning the the dead body of the kings was then prevalent as now. A mark of such memorial temple was promptly made by a heap of whitened stones and the memorial temple was sub-

sequently raised. In the case of ordinary funerals such memorials were not raised as will also appear below.

It is necessary to add here the description of the funeral customs of the people recorded by Hiuen Tsang. He says (Watters, Vol. I p. 174) "At the obsequies of the deceased the relatives wail and weep, rending their clothes and tearing out their hair, striking their brows and beating their breasts. There is no distinction in the styles of mourning costume and no fixed period of mourning. There are three recognised customs for disposing of the dead. The first of these is cremation, a pyre being made on which the body is consumed. The second is water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve; the third is burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals. Meritorious appellations are conferred on the living, the dead have no honorary distinctions. No one goes to take food in a family afflicted with death. But after the funeral, matters are again as usual. Those who attend the funeral are all regarded as unclean and they all wash outside the city wall before entering. Those who become very old or are afflicted by incurable disease, who desire to cast off humanity, are given a farewell entertainment by friends and relatives and are taken in a boat to the middle of the Ganges with music, that they may drown themselves in it, saying that they would be born in heaven. The Buddhist brethren are forbidden to wail aloud. On the death of a parent they read a service of gratitude "their following the departed is securing bliss in the other world."

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The most prominent characteristic of the religious condition of India in the days of Harsha was the complete toleration which distinguished the two or rather three religions which claimed the people of the country for their adherents. Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side and Jainism too. In the same kingdom, in the same city, in the same family even, Hindus, Jains and Buddhists lived peaceably, amicably holding discussions without embitterment on the most abstruse questions of man and God. If the father was a devotee of Śiva, the son was a devotee of Buddha and the same man in his own life might change his religion without causing disturbance either in the family or the society. The reason of such toleration lay probably in the fact that the people of these diverse religions were of the same race and had the same habits and customs, and partook of the same kind of food and drink. It appears even probable that the instinctive tendency of the people for the observation of caste distinctions was not at all obstructed in the different religions and lay Buddhists and Jains probably observed caste as much as the Hindus. The recluses or monks alone of Buddhism or Jainism throwing away caste, the unity of the three religions remained undisturbed.

Hiuen Tsang's description of the several kingdoms in the country shows that the people of India, generally speaking, were at this time equally divided between the orthodox and the heterodox faiths. Of course Jainism was not yet a prominent religion, its adherents being found chiefly in small tracts in the Panjab, in Bengal and in the south. In the map appended hereto has been depicted the condition of the prevalence of the different religions at this time in India, the religions being marked in separate colours and it will appear therefrom that while in the extreme North-

west in Kapiśa or Kafiristan there was practically no other religion but Buddhim prevalent and in the extreme North-east that is in Assam no other but Hinduism, in the rest of the country with few exceptions, Hinduism and Buddhism claimed equal adherents as well among the people as among the ruling kings; and this equal prevalence of the two religions among the peoples and the princes was another cause which preserved their amicable relations. Such relations were also preserved by another fact. Both Hinduism and Buddhism were equally idolatrous at this time. If anything. Buddhism perhaps beat the former in its intense idolatry. That religion started, indeed, with the denial of God, but ended by making Buddha himself the Supreme God. Later developments of Buddhism added other gods like the Bodhisatvas and the idolatry of Buddhism especially in the Mahāyāna school was firmly established. It flourished in and out of India so much that the word for an idol in the Arabic has come to be Buddha itself. No doubt idolatry was at this time rampant all over the world. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the world was immersed in idolatry, Christianity, Semiticism, Hinduism and Buddhism vying, so to speak, one with another in their adoration of idols*. The natural result was, of course, the birth of an idol-denying and an idol-breaking religion at this time, but that religion had not yet reached India. India was thus, at this time, studded over literally with thousands of temples raised to the principal gods of the two or rather three religions. There were temples in which immense statues of Buddha and Bodhisatvas and of the Jain Tīrthankaras were worshipped by thousands of devotees and there were other temples in which the Hindu gods chiefly Śiva, Vishṇu and the Sun were adored by the Hindu devotees. The historical work, Rājatarangini testifies to how hundreds of temples were raised in Kashmir to Śiva and Buddha by pious kings of either religion, and from epigraphic records may be gathered that idols of Śiva, Vishṇu, the Sun and the Buddha were set up by kings and

* And Jainism too was deeply steeped in idolatry in the worship of naked standing idols of Jina or its Tīrthankaras. If the Budhhist's favourite idol was the seated Buddha, the Jain idol was a standing Jina in his naked asceticism.

merchant princes in other parts of India also. It would be impossible to describe all the famous temples, Hindu and Buddhist, which existed at this time and many of which have been described in detail by Hiuen Tsang. But two Hindu temples of great fame described by him may well be mentioned here. In Mūlasthānapura (Multan) there was a magnificent temple to the sun. "The image was of gold, ornamented with precious substances. It had marvellous powers. There was a constant succession of females performing music. Lights were kept burning all night and incense and flowers were continually offered. The kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as offerings and erected free rest-houses with food and drink and medicine for the sick and needy. At this temple there were constantly 1000 pilgrims from various lands offering prayers. All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort." (Watters, Vol. 2 p. 254). Along with this famous temple of the sun at Multan may be noticed a temple of Śiva at Benares, "where there were 10,000 professed adherents of Śiva," and " where there was a metal image of the Deva (probably Śiva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspring majesty"

These two instances will suffice to show how the liberality of kings and grandees had contributed to the accumulation of riches in temples both of the Hindus and the Buddhists and how these in later times became the objects of the cupidity of impious and irreligious brigands. An image is after all an emblem of a higher original but when the sense of its being an image is lost and it becomes truly the god himself the growth of pious ignorance is unavoidable. Not only riches accumulate in temples by the adornment of idols, but superstitious beliefs also accumulate touching their miraculous powers. In the times of which we are writing, Hindus and Buddhists appear to have vied with each other in their superstitious beliefs about the potency of images. Superstition is the bane of every religion and Buddhism was not an exception to the rule. As

Buddhism had started with the denial of God it had also started with the denial of all superstitious beliefs. But with the installation of Buddha as the supreme god, the personal worship offered to him was carried to such excess, that bits of his bones and flesh, the parings of his nails and portions of his hair were greedily taken hold of and enshrined in temples and Stūpas which gradually came to be invested with miraculons power. The Records of the travels of Hiuen Tsang are full of stories of the wondrous powers possessed by Buddha's images, and his relics or Śāriras as they were called. It creates a smile in the reader to see that the same Hiuen Tsang who could laugh at the credulity* of the Hindus in believing that the waters of the Ganges (at Hardwar) could save the souls of the dead by mere fretting them and raising the waves or by throwing their bones into it, (Watters Vol. I p. 319), could believe that the Śāriras of Buddha enshrined in a tower near the great Nālandā monastery in Magadha could emit brilliant light at night. He relates having himself seen "the relic tower bright and effulgent as the sun, while from its summit proceeded a lambent flame of five colours reaching to the sky. Heaven and earth were flooded with light, the moon and the stars were no longer seen and a subtle per fume seemed to pervade the precincts" (Life p. 157). Personal adoration can go no further!!!

Not only Buddha's relics and Buddha's images, but even Buddhist monks were attributed superhuman powers And in this Hindu ascetics were not to be left behind. Such powers were believed to be attained by the practice of Yoga which both Buddhism and Hinduism had made their own and raised to the skies. Buddhist and Hindu Yoga practices were, however, not of a repulsive character. The practices of some devotees of Śiva

* Hiuen Tsang relates a story that Deva Pūsa from Sinhala once came here and finding simple people fretting the water and raising the waves, he bent his head down to check the water. On being asked by Tirthikas what he was doing he said he was sending water back to reach his relatives in Sinhala, who were thirsty. On being told that it was an absurd proceeding he replied, If sinners in the world beyond received benefit from agitating th's water, it must save his relatives in spite of the intervening mountains and rivers. "His arguments convinced the hearers who acknowledged their error and became Buddhist" (Watters Vol. I p. 321).

were almost staggering and their beliefs indeed strange. They believed in a set of demons, who were the followers or companions of Śiva and who were to be propitiated by human sacrifices or by oblations of the flesh of the dead. Such Pāśupatas wore garlands of human skulls as described by even Hiuen Tsang. (Watters, Vol. I). The principal god of this terrible worship was probably Mahākāla of Ujjain and his lieutenant was Vetāla the chief of demons. He was to be propitiated by a sacrifice in fire kindled in the mouth of a corpse and on the burial ground and so on. Their highest aim was to obtain the condition of a Vidyādhara a supposed blessed being in attendance on Śiva. Harsha Charita (p. 161-6) relates how Pushyabhūti, the founder of the Vardhana family of Thanesar, assisted a Bhairavāchārya to attain to this state of being a Vidyādhara by such a revolting sacrifice, and thus himself attained eminence as a king. However imaginary such stories may be, they testify to the strange superstitions of the Śiva cult and their prevalence all over the country. This Tāntric Śiva worship appears to have come from the south, the Dravidians, particularly the Āndhras, being always spoken of as the chief priests in its rites*. (H. C. 214) The superstitious practices of the allied worship of Chandikā were not much better than those of the worship of Śiva and there-in too the Dravidians and the Āndhras were the worshippers. Whether the superstition came from the south or not it is clear that the Tāntrika worship was prevalent and its superstitions rampant at this time from Kashmir and Kabul to Bengal and to the southernmost point. From Hiuen Tsang's Records as well as from epigraphic evidence it appears that the worship of Śiva was most extensively spread. Its adherents were more numerous than those of Āditya or Vishṇu both among the people as among the princes. Among other Hindu gods Kumāra and Chaṇḍikā were prominent, Ganapati† being rather scarcely mentioned.*

* क्वचिन्मुण्डोपहारणोद्यतद्रविडप्रार्थ्यमानामर्दकं क्वचिदान्ध्रोपक्रियमाणबाहुवमोपयाच्यमानचण्डिकम् etc. आमर्दकं is explained by the commentator as meaning Vetāla.

† His name, as is now usual, is not recited at the beginning of the copperplates of this century.

Along with the worship of these gods there still survived the old Vedic worship of fire. The Brahmins seems to have generally kept up the agnihotra and the Kshatriyas appear to have performed more elaborate sacrifices. Asvamedha or horse sacrifice is shown by epigraphic records to have been performed by powerful kings in different countries. It is not, therefore, improbable that the prohibition of this sacrifice in the Kaliyuga dates later than this period. In fact according to our view the Kalivarjas arose hereafter for reasons which will be discussed in our next volume. This and kindred sacrifices were performed by Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaiśya kings* and not by Śūdra or foreign kings. This expiains the spread of Buddhism among the Sūdra and foreign kings who being debarred from performing these Vedic sacrifices leaned naturally towards the Buddhist religion opposed to sacrifice. During the reign of Harsha, however, these bloody sacrifices involving as they did the killing of cows, horses and other animals must have ceased to be performed causing dissatisfaction among orthodox kingly families and constituting one of the grievances which led after the death of Harsha to a concussion between Hinduism and Buddhism. For, the Vedic cult of sacrifices too was not without its superstitions. Sacrifice was believed to be potent in obtaining anything a man desired in this or the next world and in enabling the sacrificer to wield power over the forces or deities of earth and heaven. For a time, however, while the strong hand of Harsha wielded the sceptor of the world all slaughter, as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was stopped and bloody sacrifices were again in abeyance, after having

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The Badāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman dated A. D. 578, represents the Chālukyas as having performed the Agnishtoma, Vajapeya, Paundarika, Bahusuvarma and the Aśvamedha sacrifices. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI p. 363.

Corp. In. Vol. III no. 12, Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta mentions that Samudra Gupta performed 'the long neglected' Aśvamedha sacrifice (चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्ता) p. 50.

Corp. In. Vol. III no. 36 p. 159 shows that a Brahmin king Indra Vishnu performed several Kratus or sacrifices क्रतुयाजिनः p. 159.

Corp. In. Vol. III Nos. 35, 53 Vākātaka inscriptions at p. 169 of Pravarsena II दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराज श्रीभवनागदौहित्रः.

flourished for about two centuries during the Gupta supremacy, Samudra Gupta having revived the orthodox Aśvamedha sacrifice which *had long been in abeyance* during the Buddhist supremacy of the Kushāns.

The ordinary Agnihotra, however, still flourished and was generally observed by Brahmins, at least of the priestly profession. How the religious of such worship Brahmins was a blend of the old Vedic sacrifice and the later idol worship appears pleasantly clear from the following passage in the Harsha-Charita (p. 91–92) in which Bāṇa describes the religious ceremonies performed by him at the time of his starting on the most important journey in his life, namely to pay his first visit to the emperor Harsha. अथान्यस्मिन्नहन्युत्थाय प्रातरेव स्नात्वा धृतधौतधवलदुकूलवासा गृहीताक्षमालः प्रास्थानिकानि सूक्तानि मंत्रपदानि बहुशः समावर्त्य, देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य क्षीरस्नपनपुरःसरां सुरभिकुसुमधूपगन्धध्वजबलिविलेपनप्रदीपबहुलां विधाय परमया भक्त्या पूजां प्रथमहुततरलतिलत्वाग्विघटनचटुलशिखाशेखरं प्राज्यमाज्याहुतिप्रवर्धितदक्षिणार्चिषं भगवन्तमाशुशुक्षणिं हुत्वा, दत्वा द्युम्नं यथा विद्यमानं द्विजेभ्यः, प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्राङ्मुखीं नैचिकीं, शुक्लांगरागः शुक्लमाल्यः शुक्लवासाः शिखासक्तसिद्धार्थकः,......आघ्रातः शिरसि कुलवृद्धैः, मौहूर्तिकमतेन कृतनक्षत्रदोहदः......प्रणम्य कुलदेवताभ्यः कुसुमफलपाणिभिरप्रतिरथं जपद्भिर्निजाद्द्विजैरनुगम्यमानः प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकूटान्निरगात्.

"Rising early in the morning and having bathed he wore a fresh washed white cotton piece of cloth and then with a rosary recited many times the Vedic mantras to be recited on a journey. He then worshipped an idol of Śiva the god of gods by first bathing it with milk and offered it with great devotion fragrant flowers, incense, pigment, Dhvaja, Bali, Vilepana and lights. He then sacrificed to the god fire, whose flames going towards the right were increased by the pouring of ghee and sesamum. He then gave Dakshinas to Brahmins according to his means. Having then gone round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east, and applying white powder to his body, putting on white garlands and wearing white clothes, he put सिद्धार्थ (?) in the hair of his head. He was then smelt on the head by elders and putting forward his right leg first he started from Prītikūṭa village followed by

his Brahmin relatives, having in their hands flowers and fruits and recitingVedic Sūktas to be recited on a journey." Such is the interesting picture of the religious side of the life of a great Brahmin of the seventh century (who was not a priest). As compared with the life depicted in the old *Gṛihyasutras* (see even the picture drawn by Kālidāsa of the starting of Śakuntalā) we find that his religion was still chiefly Vedic. He recited the Vedic mantras and sacrificed to the Vedic fire. But he also worshipped idols of Śiva or Vishṇu or other gods and believed in many practices based on astrology. In modern times on the other hand the Vedic worship has gradually dropped and the worship of idols and astrological practices have remained. Thus in religion *too*, Harsha's *time* stands as a transition period between ancient and modern Hinduism.

While the old Vedic *Agnihotra* was still kept up among the Brahmin-householders and the sacrifical fire was kindled morning and evening, the later Vedic Sanyāsa was not without its votaries.* In every town and in every Hindu temple these Sanyāsis resided and lived by begging and passed their time in calm contemplation or strangely enough as described by Bāna, in bowing to the idols in the temple. They are called Pārāśaris in the Harsha-Charita and elsewhere probably because they followed the rules laid down for Sanyāsis by Parāśara. They were generally Brahmins and although they had given up the world and wandered about they lived in towns as sustenance was only obtainable in human habitations. A few of them indeed were really good and learned men but the majority of them were in Bāṇa's days irreligious and uneducated and had brought their order into contempt. Sanyāsa, therefore, had naturally come at this time into disfavour and Pārāśari had become a synonym for a bad man. Among the associates of Bāna

* चैत्यप्रणतिपरेषु पाराशरिषु यज्ञपत्रपात्रेभ्यमाणो भर्गार्थार्हेषि प्रोतेजासि जातवेदासि हवींषि-षट्कुर्वति यायजूकजने (H.C.P.125.)

in his early undisciplined life he mentions Pārāśaris as well as Bhikshus and in a passage evidencing great power of social observation at page 249 H. C. remarks that there was not a Pārāsari but was not an irreligious man.* They were yet, however, objects of respect and were patronised by kings and grandees, for among the visitors to the Emperor Harsha Bāna describes Pārāśaris as well as Buddhist and Jain recluses. (जैनैरार्हतैः पाशुपतैः पाराशरिभिः वर्णिभिः etc. p. 97.)

The rage for Pravrajyā or giving up the world is a strong passion of the Indian mind from ancient times. It was due to the belief that this world was full of misery, that the soul was bound in the chain of transmigration from body to body according to its Karma and that the only escape from the misery of the present and future births lay in Pravrajyā or giving up the world and ceasing *to act.† Under this belief the Rishis of the Upanishads gave* up living in towns and went to forests. The same belief was placed in the forefront by Buddha, who added to it the institution of monasteries While Brahmin Sanyāsis were enjoined to live singly, Buddha not only allowed men and women of all castes to become recluses, but for their secure maintenance and quiet, established Sanghārāmas or monasteries and directed lay devotees to feed them. Sanghārāmas or monasteries, therefore, sprang into existence and as Buddhism spread, multiplied. Thousands of Bhikshus of all castes lived a life of ease and quiet in these splendidly endowed institutions and they had fine halls and temples and stūpas built for them by pious kings and grandees. These monastic institutions of the Buddhists were undoubtedly the parents of the monastic institutions of Christianity and eventually succumbed to the same causes as led to the downfall of the latter. The downfall of the Buddhist monasteries had, however, not yet commenced. From Hiuen Tsang's

* पाराशरी ब्राह्मण्यः—

† अखिलमनोज्वरशमनकारणं हि भगवती प्रव्रज्या (H. C. P. 336.)

records and also from the Harsha-Charita, India was at this time covered all over its extent by monasteries inhabited by thousands of monks and they were a set of well behaved and moral people, generally speaking, and had not yet come into disrepute like the Hindu Pārāśaris. Jainism too had its recluses and its monasteries though they were yet a small community from Hiuen Tsang's account. Śaivism too had its recluses or ascetics and these lived probably in temples of Śiva and burial grounds.

Among all these different recluses namely Jainas (जैनः) or Buddhists, Ārhatas (आर्हतः) or Jains, Pāśupatas, Pārāśaris, Varṇis (Brahmacharis) (H. C. above quoted) and others were to be found men learned in the philosophies of their respective doctrines and a peculiar characteristic of this time was the extreme fondness of the people and the princes to hear learned discussions on philosophical questions between the professors of the different doctrines. The Indian religion, strangely enough, combines the highest philosophy with the grossest superstition. The Indo-Aryans in times remote, grappled with the most abstruse problems relating to God and soul, and have left us speculations in the Upanishads and the Vedas beyond which no people have yet gone. Imbued with a deep sense of the miseries of this world the Indo-Aryans applied themselves to a consideration of the world beyond while the western Aryans applied themselves to the problems of this world. And in their speculations, as Max-Muller has observed, they never shrank from accepting conclusions at which they logically arrived. Hence the diversity of schools in Indian philosophies and hence also their freedom from bigotry or intolerance of other opinions. The Indo-Aryan mind always took delight in logically discussing the various questions of religious philosophy. Buddhism especially was fond of such discussions. The development of Nyāya philosophy which Buddhism to some extent made its own lent indeed a scholastic character to such discussions and there was no criterion of truth except the opponent's defeat in discussion. Yet they have an interest and a value of their own as

reason was held supreme or in other words as the argument from revelation was never resorted to. Bāṇa's work gives ample testimony to the popularity of such discussions in his time. Especially, Hiuen Tsang records the great assemblies of learned men which were convened at the time of the quinquennial alms-giving ceremonies which Harsha used to hold at Prayāga and at the last of which Hiuen Tsang himself was the president of the assembly. The usual procedure in such assemblies was that some one made a declaration of his doctrines and called upon all present to refute them. Sometimes a written declaration was posted at the gate of a monastery calling upon adversaries to tear it. Hiuen Tsang tells us of one such declaration posted by a Brahmin opponent to the door of the Nālandā monastery which no body daring to tear, he himself tore and then entering upon a controversy with the Brahmin defeated him, he having first sworn to be a slave of the man who would defeat him. Hiuen Tsang, however, relieved him from his oath and allowed him to depart a Buddhist. The Buddhist monasteries appear to have been constant scenes of such disputations, for the monks residing therein having no care for their maintenance had ample time for study and discussion besides performing their religious exercises. Hiuen Tsang notes also this feature of the life in Buddhist monastaries. The Buddhists themselves were divided into 18 sects and had as many disputations among themselves as with outsiders. "The Brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominence. Those who bring forward or estimate aright fine points in philosophy and give subtle principles their proper place, who are ornate in diction and acute in refined distinctions ride richly caparisoned elephants," preceded and followed by a host of attendants. Bāṇa's discription in the Harsha-Charita evidences also the assembling of opponent philosophers at the hermitages of Buddhist recluses, and the passage is interesting as giving us a catalogue of the various schools which then contended in the field of discussion. In the Āśrama of Divākaramitra

were assembled, Bāṇa tells us at page 316 H. C. Arhatas,* (Jains), Maskaris (Sanyāsis), Svetapaṭas (Śvetambara Jains), white-clothed Bhiksus, Bhāgavatas, Varṇis (Brahmacharis), Keśaluncbakas (those who rooted out their hair), Kāpilas (Sānkhyas), Lokāyatikas (atheists), Jains (Buddhists), Kānādas (followers of Kanada's Vaiśeśika philosophy), Aupanishadas (Vedantins), Aiśvara Karanikas (Naiyayikas), Karandhamas (the philosophers of धातुवाद or elements), Dharmaśāstris, Purānikas, Śaptatantavas (?), Śaivas, Śābdikas (gramarians), Pāncharātrikas (followers of the Pancharātra sect of Vaishnavas) and others. This catalogue of the philosophies which were current in the seventh century is historically important. The Buddhists are here called Jains, Jina being a name of Buddha while what are now called Jains are called Ārhatas. The Bhāgavatas are again distinguished from the Pāncharātras. The Mīmānsakas are probably intended by the term Dharmaśāstris for they based their arguments on revelation. Lastly, Varṇis or Brahmachāris are distinguished from the Aupanishadas and these again from the Maskaris. It is difficult to find out the nature of the exact differences in these several allied philosophies and we must content ourselves with noting the fact of the distinction.

However much these different philosophies might contend with one another, on two or three points all of them seem to have held only one view. Firstly they all believed (with the exception of Lokāyatikas or atheists alone) in the existence of the soul and its metempsychosis through numberless births according to Karma. The belief in the Karma doctrine and in the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul prominently distinguishes Indian philosophy from the philosophy of the West. We are not concerned here either with its truth or otherwise or with the history of its origin. But it is pertinent to remark

* आर्हतैः मस्करिभिः श्वेतपटैः पाण्डुरभिक्षुभिः भागवतैर्वर्णिभिः केशलुञ्चकैः कापिलैः लोकायतिकैर्जैनैः कणादैरौपनिषदैः ऐश्वरकारणिकैः कारन्धमिभिः धर्मशास्त्रिभिः पौराणिकैः साप्ततन्तवैः शैवैः शाब्दिकैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैश्चान्यैश्च-

that this belief was a potent and living force at the time of which we are writing. It had a great effect in maintaining the morals of the people at a high level. The following extract from Hiuen Tsang a foreign and unbiased writer is relevant in this connection " They are of hasty and irresolute temperament but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. *They fear the retribution of sins in other lives and* make light of what conduct produces in this life." (Watters Vol. I P. 171.) And further, "As the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms the criminal class is small" (Ditto). The same cannot be said of the present state of the Indian society and apparently the credit of this high moral condition of the people is due to the teachings of Buddhism which lays stress upon this doctrine of transmigration of soul and its moral lessons with the greatest force. though it has taken it from Hinduism itself.

Secondly, the doctrine of Ahinsā had become acceptable to almost all the different schools of religious thought in India. Its opponents were chiefly the Mimānsakas or the upholders of the old Vedic sacrifice, besides of course the Lokāyatikas or atheists and perhaps Pāśupatas. but even these Mimānsakas had already come round to accept it so far as ordinary slaughter of animals was concerned. From the Mahābhārata we already find the compromise arrived at namely that although slaughter for purposes of sacrifice and Śrāddha was no slaughter it was so for all ordinary purposes. We have shown elsewhere (Epic India) that the Ahinsā doctrine was originally started by Hinduism itself against animal sacrifice. (See Brihadāraṇya and other Upanishads). But it was taken up by the Buddhists and the Jains and placed in the foremost rank of their tenets. Whenever Buddhism flourished animal sacrifices, therefore, fell in abeyance and along with it naturally animal food also. The growth of the worship of Kṛishṇa had made cows and bulls objects of special adoration to the Hindus also and the slaughter of

cows and bulls had entirely ceased, as also that of certain larger animals. When Hiuen Tsang visited India this prohibition had become so strong "that the flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys and apes was entirely forbidden and those who ate such food became pariahs" (Watters' Records V.I.P.178).

But the flesh of other animals was still permitted and probably even Brahmins and Kshatriyas ate mutton and venison as also fish. Besides during the Gupta supremacy Asvamedha had been revived and at this sacrifice bulls and horses must have been slaughtered, the sacrificers taking refuge under the formula "slaughter for sacrifice was no slaughter." Such practices must have given offence to strong rulers of the Buddhistic faith and they must have used their political power for the suppression of *all slaughter.* Hiuen Tsang tells us of Śiladitya of Molapo prohibiting slaughter and animal food in his kingdom in the latter half of the 6th century. This king himself was so punctilious that he gave strained water to his horses and elephants lest insects might be killed (Life p. 148) The Rājatarangiṇī (III 6) mentions the efforts which Meghavāhana made to prohibit slaughter in Kashmir. All such partial attempts were now cast ino shade by the systematic efforts of Harsha who wielded absolute power over the whole of Northern India. "He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies." (Watters' Vol. I p. 344). Harsha was the master of four Indies only namely the middle, the north, the west and the east. But in the south probably his directions or requests must have been complied with by the several kings in the south, the people being already in favour of the prohibition of animal food. Harsha's efforts appear to have been successful and althongh there was a rebound for a time against Ahinsā after Harsha's death as we shall have to relate hereafter, it became finally fixed in the Hindu mind and strangely enough more completely in the south than in the north. At this day Brahmins of the south are total abstainers from flesh while in Northern India they are

only generally so. The Kshatriyas of the whole of India who, it may be a surprise to read, are the most conservative people of the land, still use animal food but the prohibition of animals enumerated by Hiuen Tsang as above, is observed even by them. The Vaiśyas are total abstainers all over the country and other castes follow the Kshatriyas, but habit of centuries and example of Brahmins make them also generally abstainers from flesh. The non-slaughter of cows and bulls has, it may be added, become so completely the chief dogma of each and every follower of Hinduism that its contempt rouses them as is well known, even now, sometimes to the verge of religious frenzy.

Such is the great change in religious sentiment which came over the people with respect to animal slaughter in the momentous reign of the emperor Harsha. There is no example in history of a great and vast people giving up animal food for the sake of religious merit. The Ahinsā doctrine has indeed raised Hinduism to a high position of glory and has added to its spiritual power. But the historian cannot but observe with Max-Muller that while it has enabled India to live a higher spiritual life, it has contributed largely to bring about its political death. For a vegetarian people cannot ordinarily hope to compete with the flesh-eating peoples of the world in the struggle for existence, as the history of India in the succeeding centuries but too painfully proved.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CONDITION

Sir Vincent Smith observes at page 357 of his 'Early history of India' 3rd Edition, that when "the wholesome despotism of Harsha terminated by his death, India instantly returned to her normal condition of *anarchical autonomy.*" This is, I am afraid, a wrong and an unhistorical view. To those who look upon India as one country and who consider a despotic imperial rule as the only remedy for her political ills, the political condition which usually obtained in ancient India may appear as one of anarchical autonomy. But it must be remembered that India never was one kingdom at any time except the present, when the British rule has brought the whole country under subjection. India may indeed be called one country from certain aspects of race, religion and tradition, but it cannot be denied that it never was, at least in ancient history, one country politically. It generally consisted of a number of kingdoms and these were usually at war with one another. To apply to this condition the term anarchical autonomy would be improper.

For what was the condition of Europe at this time or for that matter at any time in its history? Europe may fitly be compared to India in every respect. Exclusive of Russia, Europe is almost equal to India in extent and population and its people are practically of one race, namely, Aryan and of one religion, namely, Roman Christianity. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang describes India as divided into about seventy kingdoms (Watters' Vol. I p. 140). Europe in the seventh century could not have been divided into less. England itself was divided into five kingdoms, France, Germany and Italy into many more. Indeed the condition of society, civi lization and the means of communication in ancient times

prevented the formation of kingdoms larger than those that existed in India or Europe at that time. And history shows that these kingdoms of Europe were constantly at war with one another. European history is indeed a terrible history detailing the constant and usually sanguinary wars waged by the several kingdoms with one another. Now would it be proper to describe this condition of Europe as one of anarchical autonomy, or to make the comparison still more complete, to say that when the Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces after his death, Europe reverted to her usual condition of anarchical autonomy ? Even now when railways and telegraphs have made the growth of large kingdoms possible, Europe is still divided into a number of small kingdoms which are not larger than the kingdoms in India described by Hiuen Tsang. If we take 6000 li or 1200 miles as the average circumference of a large Indian kingdom like Mahārāshtra the area of an average large kingdom in square miles comes to about 1,20,000 sq. miles. Or we may make calcuation in another way and divide the total present area of India viz. 18,02,629 sq. miles, by 70 and arrive at the area 25,752 sq. miles of an average kingdom in India as it existed in the seventh century. The smaller kingdoms existing in Europe at this day, Belgium (11,373 sq. ms.), Holland (12.582), Portugal (32,000), Italy (1,10,632), Bulgaria (33,645), Roumania (53,489) and Greece (25,014), not to speak of the small states of which the German Empire is composed, are not thus larger than the kingdoms existing in India in Hiuen Tsang's days, and these states of Europe are normally in a condition of war. A decade does not pass without a fight somewhere, and yet these small states are alive and flourishing ; and history cannot describe the normal condition of Europe as one of 'anarchical autonomy'. The mistake lies in looking upon India as one country or a territory that deserved to be one country under one rule and hence, I apprehend, the use of the word anarchical.

The question for the historian is why did the small kingdoms of India succumb to the Mahomedans in the

12th century? Why did they not live and develop into strong kingdoms like the states of Europe? It is usually suggested that the Indian kingdoms ought to have foreseen the danger of foreign invasions and that they should have laid aside mutual feuds in order to gather strength against them. It is argued, for example, that after the defeat of the Huns under Mihirkula in 528 A. D. India was free from foreign invasion till the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni about 1000 A. D., and she was free to work out her destiny. This involves not only the previous misconception that India was one country but also the further misconception that such foreign invasions could have been foreseen. In fact we usually look upon the condition of the seventh century, from our state of knowledge in the twentieth century. But the invasions of Mahmud could not have been foreseen by any the wisest man, in the seventh century No body in those days or even later could have dreamt that the Turks, fired with the fanaticism of a new creed and cursed with the barbarism of new invaders, would devastate India in the 11th and the 12th centuries. Even the loss of Sind in the beginning of the 8th century could not have served as a warning. The conquest of Sind, in India, by the Arabs may fitly be compared to the conquest of Constantinople in Europe by the Turks. The Turks have remained in Europe like a thorn in the side of Europe for these five centuries in the same way as the Arabs remained in Sind for five centuries before the 13th. The Arabs from Sind molested the Hindus east, north and south much in the same way as the Turks harassed Europe in the west, north and south. Yet Europe never thought of laying aside her internal animosities and combining under one empire. Why should then the kingdoms of India have thought of combining under one sceptre to drive away the Arabs? Nay, the parallel goes much further. Mr. Sardesai accuses the Rāshtrakūtas of having actually taken the assistance of these Arab foreigners in their fights with the Gurjaras. But it must be remembered that in advanced Europe the same thing was done and is

being done. History tells us that Francis I of France excited the Turks against the Germans in his war with Charles V, Emperor of Germany, in the 16th century. And curiously enough the debt has been paid back in the present 20th century by the last Emperor of Germany by raising the Turks against the French and their allies although the latter are of the same religion, race and civilization as the Germans. The reason is, that in political struggles, even religion and race are not of much account. The Bulgars are at present fighting against the Russians though of the same race and even of the same religious church. We need not, then, feel wonder if the Rāshtrakūtas sought the assistance of the Arabs, against their own co-religionists. We must remember that the Gurjaras and Rāshtrakūtas formed two distinct kingdoms with distinct political interests. The real difference between Europe and India lies in the fact that while both the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūtas have eventually succumbed before the Arabs, the French and the Germans are still alive and not likely to succumb to the Turks. The real question, therefore, for the historian is why did the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūtas succumb? In other words why did the kingdoms in India not develop into strong nations? What was the political condition in the seventh and the preceding centuries which led to her decline and downfall? That is the question which we really have to solve and which requires to be carefully tackled in the light of western and easten history past and present.

The main cause of this difference in the vitality of the nations in the west and the nations in the east appears to be the complete divergence in the development of their political ideas. While in the west the highest ideal of a state was evolved at a very ancient date in Greece, in India the Indo-Aryan intellect not only failed to grasp the essentials of a perfect state but developed ideas which were diametrically opposed to them. Perhaps the Indo-Aryan intellect was, as said before, engrossed with the idea of the nothingness of this

world's prosperity and devoting itself to spirtual speculation spurned the limitations of a limited state and concerned itself with the welfare of the whole world, man and beast, animate and inanimate. In Europe the small citizen states of Greece were led by the Hellenic intellect to a very high political development and the Romans by their legal temperament carried it to the farthest limits. The duties and the dignities of a *citizen* of the Roman Empire, a word which still reminds us of the ancient develpment of city-states, were now clearly understood and defined and they in their turn moulded the development of political ideas in the Germanic peoples who added their own political instincts and notions to the ideas inherited from the civilizations of Greece and Rome. The German states were, indeed, not republics like the ancient states of Greece and Rome, but the power of the king in these was limited by institutions of states-general or representative assemblies of the people; and these have developed into the modern kingdoms of Europe with their limited monarchies. The rights and duties of the citizens or rather members of a state have further been developed by French thinkers preceding the French Revolution and their ideas have now permeated to the lowest class in each and every state of Europe. Under their influence each individual citizen in the western states believes that he is a partner in the political partnership of the state and is thus both its master and servant in his own small capacity. Each citizen again is bound to the state not only by ties of affection or patriotism but also by the ties of self-interest, for each one shares in the prosperity of the state or its adversity and is thus ready to make any sacrifice for it by self-interest as well as by patriotism. Such a state must necessarily be a strong organisation and cannot be suppressed or killed except by the greatest exertion of enemies. Nay, it has come to be a maxim with political philosophers in the west that no people, however few, imbued with the instincts of true citizenship, can ever be suppressed by force.

The development of political ideas in India was exactly in the opposite direction. The Indo-Aryans were indeed in the beginning imbued with the same racial tendencies as their brethren in the west. The sovereignty so to speak belonged to the people and the king was merely their leader and agent. There were public assemblies of the people which advised the king on all important matters. Taxation was levied apparently with the consent of the people. The later tradition that the people promised Manu 1/6th of their land produce in consideration of his accepting their kingship contains the germ of this principle. Kings were often elected and in some tribes there were no kings at all, the people themselves regulating their affairs by a council of elders. In short, in the earliest period of Indian history the political condition of the people was developing in the same direction as in the west. Indeed the union of the people with the state and the king was so complete in ancient times that the names of the three were identical. The state was still tribal and the same word in the plural indicated the state and the people, while in the singular it meant the king. In the Vedic and even in Epic times this was the rule. For example the Kurus, the Madras, the Pānchālas, the Kosalas and so on meant both the people and the country; and the singular Kuru, Madra, Pānchāla and Kosala and so on meant the king. A similar state of things obtained in the west. The land was there also called after the people and the king was called by the same name. France was the land of the Franks, England of the Angles and Saxony of the Saxons; and France, England and Saxony meant also the kings of those lands. Thus the name of the people gave the name to the country and the king, both in the east and the west.

Such was the state of things in India down to Buddha's time. In the succeeding centuries this condition gradually changed. The people gradually receded from view, probably because they were now composed largely of Śūdras and not of the Aryans as in previous times. The kings who were often non-Aryan and sometimes even

foreigners, gradually assumed absolute power. The people thus became accustomed to the rule of kings who were not of their own race and of the Kshatriya caste. They gradually ceased to take interest in politics, being less or never consulted and eventually came to believe that it was none of their business to meddle with state affairs. Particular persons of the three higher castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas did take some interest in politics being soldiers and officials, but the generality of the people being Śūdra, was debarred from all participation in political activities. And eventually the people lost all idea as to their possessing any rights of participation in the government of the country.

In this way diverged the political development of the Aryans in the east and in the west. Not that in the west the factor of a lower class did not arise. In Greece there were the Helots; in Rome the Plebeins; in France the Gauls; in England the Britons. In Germany alone, perhaps, the people were homogeneous. But in all these cases the lower classes were not racially very distinct from the higher and not very inferior in physical and mental capacities. In all these countries, therefore, they struggled to obtain political rights. For instance the persistent efforts of the Plebeians in Rome to obtain political and even social equality are well known and these struggles themselves were an education to the people. In India, on the other hand, especially in the north, the Dravidian lower classes were very inferior in capacities, and being different in complexion, features and habits remained distinct in position, social and political, and never struggled for equality of rights. Political power, therefore, gradually centered primarily in the higher classes, especially in the Kshatriyas and in the kings next. The king was invested with divine attributes in public estimation by superstition as well as by craft, and the despotic power of kings without any restriction by popular assemblies was eventually firmly established during the Buddhistic period of Indian history.

Such remained the political condition of India in the seventh century. The king was absolute and possessed of despotic power unrestricted by the voice of any public assemblies. The kingdom and the people belonged to him, so to speak; as his private property. The kingdom naturally ceased to be called by the name of the people Among the seventy or so kingdoms mentioned by Hiuen Tsang only a few bear the name of the people. The old names of Kuru, Pānchāla, Anga, Vanga &c. are gone and we have the names of Thanesar, Kanauj, Karnasuvarna, Tamralipti and so on. They are names taken generally after the capital town or some physical feature of the country. The kings are not named after the people but after a Vanśa or family as the Vardhanas, the Maukharis, the Guptas and so on.

And these families did not attain to kingly position by the consent or approbation of the people or by hereditary rights of several generations even, but by divine favour obtained, it was believed, by reason of austerities performed by certain individuals in their past lives. Under this superstitious view any body might become king or had the right to become king if only he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne by hook or crook. For, the people's consent or acceptance was never thought of as having anything to do with the affair. The story related by Kalhana about how Ranāditya (Raj. III) became king is typical of this popular superstition. The Harsha Charita also relates how Pusyabhūti obtainted a boon by assisting in a Pāśupata sacrifice, that a Chakravarti would be born in his family. When the Brahmin Chacha usurped the throne of Sind, he is said in the Chachanāma to have observed "It is written in the books of Hind that whenever a person who has trained his soul to austerities dies, his soul transmigrates to the child of a king or a great man in return for his good deeds." The people thus had not only no political rights but had no hand whatever in the acceptance of kings, as persons became kings by reason of their austerities per-

formed in former lives. Under such a view of the organization of a state, there can scarcely be born that national vitality which is the essential factor in the strength of nations. Naturally enough patriotism was a virtue which never arose in India. There are, in Indian history, no noble examples of patriotic sacrifices such as are to be found in Greek, or Roman history or in the later history of the European nations. The feeling of love of the country or the nation cannot arise when the nation itself has no existence. The place of patriotism was supplied by the feeling of loyalty. The king being the absolute master of the state or the people, appointed by divine will, the people could naturally be actuated only by the feeling of loyality or love to the divine king. Loyalty has been the distinguishing characteristic of the people of this country from the most ancient times. In the Harsha Charita we find many such examples recorded by Bāṇa and in these servants or officers give up their lives simply for the grief they felt on the death of their sovereign. And if the royal family continued steady on the throne for generations it did so not by the patriotism of the people but by the loyalty of their servants and officers. The people generally were also loyal to the reigning king. But their loyalty must always have been lukewarm and they were generally willing, or felt no concern, when one rule was substituted by another.

What the condition was in individual kingdoms also obtained in empires. Harsha's empire was the culminating point of the Buddhist period of Indian history which was passing away. He founded and maintained an empire as strong as the Gupta empire and in the history of the following mediæval period no kingdom approached either the extent or the solidarity of Harsha's rule. Harsha again was one of the most righteous emperors in the history of the world, conscientiously endeavouring to secure the happiness of the people. And yet the political conceptions of the people remaining the same, he could not infuse into his empire any national vitality. On the

contrary the very extent of this mass of kingdoms held together by force, increased its aptitude to topple down at the slightest shock, like a pile of stones heaped one upon another without any cement. Of course, we cannot blame Harsha for not introducing the cement. For, India had not then evolved representative institutions nor had the Indian intellect evolved proper conceptions of a political state. That department of enquiry remained a blank in the Indian intellectual activity. Harsha, therefore, could never have thought of giving to the people any rights of participation in the government of the country. His maintenance of order by sheer force but confirmed the current opinions about the absolute power of kings, and of God's favour as the origin of all kingly power.

Under such a view, kingdoms and even empires could not have any vitality. Harsha's empire fell to pieces, *immediately his strong arm was removed from the* administration. The subject kingdoms immediately became independent while Kanauj itself fell into disorder, Harsha having left no son. For in such a state of political views not only the virtue of patriotism cannot be fostered, but the contrary vice namely treason cannot but have ample scope to flourish. Every ambitious person who can by force or treachery seize the throne has the assurance that the people's allegiance will be transferred to him as a matter of course. The people having no voice in the matter or rather believing that they had no voice were naturally held of no account in such revolutions and the successful usurper was always accepted without demur. Traitors were, therefore, not uncommon. The punishment for unsuccessful rebellion or treachery was indeed drastic, then as now, traitors being imprisoned for life and ' dead or alive nobody took any account of them ' as Hiuen Tsang observes. But such drastic punishment did not deter ambitious and bold persons. especially as success was not very difficult when opportunities offered. These revolutions or rebellions were never of the people but of a few individuals only. Ministers and commanders-in-chief,

were generally the usurpers in such revolutions and they were usually successful whenever the reigning king died without issue, or was an incapable person. Such has indeed been the trend of Indian history from the days of the Śungas down to the days of the Peshwas and their lieutenants, even throughout the Mahomedan times. Had the people had a proper conception of their duties as citizens of a state they would not have tolerated such revolutions nor would the ministers have dared to seize thrones. Only since the establishment of the British rule are we getting accustomed to the sight of ministers never aspiring to place themselves in the position of their masters.

We have discussed, heretofore, at length what in our opinion was the main cause of the weakness of Indian states. To put it shortly, the absence of representative political institutions prevented the people from feeling self-interest in the maintenance of the state intact and the belief that kings were appointed from heaven in reward for their austerities in past lives made the people thoroughly unconcerned as to who ruled them. The king enjoyed absolute power and was the master of the state or kingdom as if it were an item of private property. Patriotism was naturally absent and though its place was tolerably supplied by the feeling of loyalty, disloyal and treasonable persons were not uncommon, those who were successful in their usurpation being accepted by the people without demur. This state of things continued down to the latest period of Indian history, for we find in the last successful usurpation by Rāghoba, hundreds and thousands came forward to support his cause. Had the people a proper conception of their rights and duties as members of the Maratha state, not a man would have been found to stand by that misguided person in creating the unfortunate cleft in the solidarity of the Māratha state which eventually destroyed it. The greatest benefit of the British rule in India is the awakening of the people to a sense of their essential rights and duties as citizens

of the British Empire. And it will be wise for the British government to take note of this awakening and to admit people to their due share in the government of the country. British statesmen should remember that even the British government in India is comparatively weak if it is not supported by the co-operation of the people rendered not merely by the sentiment of loyalty but by the feeling of self-interest engendered by self-government through representative institutions.

The question why nations fall is one of extreme complexity and difficulty. But there can be no doubt that representative government creates a feeling of self-interest in the people which is the great backbone of a nation's strength. History indeed records the fall of the brilliant city-states of Greece and of Rome inspite of such national sentiment. But we must remember that that sentiment had been completely undermined in Greece and Rome by demoralization and luxury and hence it was that these states succumbed and fell. But they rose again when the same sentiment became strong. The Indian states on the other hand never developed the national sentiment at all and hence were never strong. They could not have developed into strong states in the succeeding centuries. On the contrary, coming under the influence of certain causes which we shall discuss in another place they gradually became enervated and hence fell easily before the advancing tide of Mahomedan invasions.

It is, however, necessary to state before concluding this chapter that the despotic states of India of the seventh century were certainly strong as compared with the contemporary despotic kingdoms of Asia and it is hence that they could beat back the Huns who in Europe could not be beat away. The physical and moral capacities of a people are also an important factor in the vitality of nations. Even a vegetarian people inured to arms and abstemious in habits can hold their own in the struggle of nations. In the seventh century the people of India were habituated

to the use of arms owing to the constant warfare waged by the different kingdoms. They were also, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, simple and abstemious in habits. The Indian states of the seventh century were strong and warlike in spite of their despotic constitutions and were neither enervated by luxury nor enfeebled by want of martial exercises. The prominent index of the enervation of a people is their employment of mercenary forces and neither Hiuen Tsang nor Bāna mentions any mercenary troops in the army of Harsha.

CHAPTER VIII

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The kingdoms of India of the 7th century A. D., notwithstanding their despotic or autocratic nature, were usually well-governed and happy and were probably better off in this respect than the kingdoms contemporary with them in the West. The Indo-Aryans, while they acquiesced in or rather preached the divine nature of the kingly authority, at the same time sought to impose a check on the autocracy of kings by holding that laws were also divine and incapable of being changed. In fact in the Indian kingdoms every thing from the life and conduct of the king down to the taxes and punishments was fixed by the divine ordinance of the Smritis. In the West the king is believed to be the source of all laws. In India the source of law is the Śruti and the Smṛiti and no human agency can change it. The kings with even the consent of the people had thus no legislative power. Their duty was simply to administer justice according to the divinely ordained law and to keep peace and order by punishing robbers and other evil-doers. They were to receive taxes from the produce of land and trade and handicraft for performing this service and the amount was fixed at one sixth of the former and one-fiftieth of the value of the latter. The former amount in case of necessity might be increased to one-fourth. The expenses of government, as Hiuen Tsang has noted, were very limited and the kings probably never found it necessary to levy taxes beyond what were sanctioned by the Smṛitis. The people again with their highly religious nature were generally free from crime and thus was caused that usually happy condition of the ancient kingdoms of India which so favourably impressed impartial foreigners like Hiuen Tsang who themselves lived under widely different conditions in the imperial kingdom of

China.* With these preliminary remarks we shall try to describe in detail the administrative condition of the 7th century from the evidence of the Harsha-Charita an of epigraphic records of that time. The provisions of the Smritis also will assist us in this inquiry to a considerable extent.

The country was called in those days by the name of Deśa a word which Varāhamihira and others also use. The former appellation of a country was Janapada or 'people' showing, as we have already noted, the changed condition of kingdoms which no longer consisted of homogeneous peoples bearing particular names. In the south, however, the word Mandala was more widely used than Desa in such words as Chola Mandala, Tonda Mandala, Kongu Mandala and so on, wherein the first word probably means a particular people. Mandala often also indicated a division of the country or Deśa according to its people and the word Rāshtra in Mahārāshtra or Rājya in Kashmir also occurs and conveys the same idea as Mandala.

The Deśa or country was usually divided for administrative purposes into divisions which were in the north called Bhukti and which in the south were called Vādi or sometimes Mandala. This division corresponds with the district of the British rule. The word Bhukti perhaps referred to so much tax collected and might be fitly translated by the word collectorate. The Bhukti or District was again subdivided into smaller portions which were called Vishaya everywhere and which correspond to the modern Tehsil or Taluka. In Tamil and other countries of the extreme south Vishaya was often called Nāda and in Gujarat we meet sometimes with the word Ahāra. Vishaya

This is what Hiuen Tsang records:—"As the Government is generous and official requirements are few, families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour and contributions. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent and tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations.

was not further subdivided though we sometimes find further subdivisions of the Vishaya into portions—East, West North, and South as in modern or Mahomedan times into Tarafs.

The Vishaya consisted of a number of villages or grāmas. Thus the lowest administrative unit was the village, a village being usually described as situate in a particular Vishaya of a particular Bhukti or Mandala. The Vishaya was named usually after the chief town of it while the Bhukti had a name which sometimes referred to a people. Thus Khetaka Ahāra means the Kheda Tehsil and Jejāka Bhukti or China Bhukti (Hiuen Tsang, Watters I p. 391) meant the collectorate of the Jejāks or Chīnas. Bhukti also was sometimes named from a big town or city e. g. the Ahicchatra Bhukti mentioned in the Banskhera grant of Harsha.

The grāma or village formed the backbone of the country and its administration and had fixed sites and boundaries For the villages remained undisturbed in the internecine wars that were constantly going on and found no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to any new king or any new power. The important towns no doubt suffered in the wars waged and were frequently devastated entirely. But the villages were undisturbed and remained self-contained in their administration, having their hereditary headmen and head registrars corresponding to the Patels and the Patwaris of modern days. From the Harsha-Charita it appears that the former's name was अक्षपटलिक. and the latter's name was करणिक. Karana is obviously the register of tenancies in the village and the Patawari is still called in the south करणम् and करणिक and Kulakarana in the Deccan also means the same thing. The word Patil is derived in my opinion from अक्षपटल which word occurs in Kautilya's Artha-Śāstra also (page 62) and which there plainly means an office building for keeping records (अक्षपटलमध्यक्षः प्राङ्मुखमुदङ्मुखं वा विभक्तोपस्थाननिबन्धपुस्तकस्थानं कारयेत्). It seems clear from this that there were record offices or government offices so to speak in every village. In fact

देयः etc. In all these the word उद्रंग must be taken to mean the principal tax i. e. the land-tax. This word has notbeen. yet traced by me to any ancient works. But as Dr. Fleet has suggested in a footnote at page 97 of the Corp. Ins. Vol III, it is plain that it means the chief income from the village. उपरिकर seems, in my opinion, to mean extra taxes and not taxes on extra cultivators as Dr. Fleet suggests. What these extra taxes were may be discovered by the aid ot the Smritis and the inscriptions also in this volume The Manu Smriti provides for taxes on various articles besides corn in the following ślokas–आददीताथ षड्भागं द्रुमांसमधुसर्पिषाम् । गन्धौषधिरसानां च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥ पत्रशाकतृणानां च चर्मणां वैदलस्य च । मृन्मयानां च भाण्डानां सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ७-२१-३४ These things may be taken to be such things as were sold and not things which any person reared or produced for his own consumption. That these taxes were actually levied in the 7th century appears probable from epigraphic records of the time. The Chammak copperplate grant (Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 238) deserves to be quoted here at length. It grants the village, अकरदायी अभटछात्रप्रवेश्यः अपारंपरगोबलीवर्दः अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोहः अचारासनचर्माङ्गारः अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनकः सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सक्लृप्तः सोपक्लृप्तः etc. This may be translated as follows.—'The village is not to pay taxes. It is not to be entered by soldiers or the police. It is not to give the increase of cows and bulls. It is not to be subject to the payment on flowers and milk or on pasturage, hides and charcoal. It is not to pay tax on salt or wet salt, on sale and purchase and on mine produce. It is free of forced labour of every kind. It is granted with treasure trove and other minor finds and with kḷipta and minor kḷipta. (I follow here the translation by Dr. Fleet with some exceptions). The words निधि and क्लृप्त followed by the words उपनिधि and उपक्लृप्त meaning the same things but of a minor kind suggest that उद्रंग and उपरिकर may also be taken to be the same tax on the chief produce viz. that of land and on minor products such as flowers, fruit, milk, etc. brought for sale as is provided for in the Manu Smriti. How the उद्रंग or land tax was levied, whether by apportioning from the actual produce or by average yield, is not clear Land was

certainly measured, for the measurements of land are often given in inscriptions of the time. Thus in Cop. Ins. Vol. III No. 28 grant of Dharasena p. 166 lands in several villages with particular names even are given and the measurements mentioned are Padāvarta Śatam (100) or Padāvarta Navati (90) or Padāvarta Ashtāvinśati (28). Padāvarta probably means so many square paces, pada being not the actual foot but the pace or two feet. These fields are small indeed but they belong, it must be remembered, to Gujarat where land is very fertile. For other less fertile tracts the measurements must be different, for instance the grant of Pravarasena (Corp. Ins. Vol. III 241) made in the Bhojakata Rājya (or modern Berar) a village is measured by राजमान or royal measure. What this royal measure was is not mentioned; the word used is राजमानिक. भूमिसहस्रैरष्टाभि: 8000 and Dr. Fleet thinks that the name of the measure was Bhūmi. Apparently however भूमि is a plot of land. The 8000 measures of land of the village granted to 1000 Brahmins would probably constitute a large modern village of about 4000 acres and the measure would thus approximate to a Bigha or ½ acre of modern times. The word निवर्तन (Nivartana) is not found in grants given in this volume.* That word however appears to be a very old one. It occurs in the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra at page 107 where its meaning is given in the following table of space measures; 4 cubits = 1 Danda (stick) 10 Dandas = 1 Rajju (chain) and 3 Rajjus = 1 nivartana. This makes the nivartana equal to 120 cubits i.e. 180 feet or 60 yards length. The field or square nivartana would be a square area with nivartana as one side i. e. 3600 sq. yards. As acre consists of 4840 sq. yards which makes the acre equal to approximately 1⅓ nivartanas. The measure of the bigha of the Mahomedans was also based on the danda or stick, being taken to be 20 sticks long by 20 sticks broad and was nearly one half of the nivartana. Perhaps the Bhūmi mentioned in the above grant may be the nivartana which certainly was an old measure. In whatever manner

*It occurs in many grants of older date in the south (even Nasik cave inscriptions). It thus was preserved in the south and west; in the north other names had taken its place.

realised, the उद्रंग or land tax was received in kind and probably the उपरिकर or minor taxes were also received in kind. The grain was stored by a special officer of the State called the कोष्ठागाराध्यक्ष, who was also in charge of the minor articles. These were either immediately sold or were stored for future use, according to their nature. Interesting details of the manner of sale or storage are to be found in the Kautiliya Artha Śāstra, pages 93-99.

Let us next try to understand village life and administration from inscriptions as also from the Harsha-Charita. The grants of villages were addressed either to the villagers or to government officers; thus the grants at page 193 and 195 Corp. Ins. Vol. III are addressed to the villagers (प्रतिवासिनः कुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञापयति) who are ordered to pay the the taxes to the grantees. The villagers are said to belong to all castes among whom the Brahmins were the foremost (see Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 216 प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तराः). Where grants are addressed to government officers, the latter are asked not to interfere with the enjoyment of the villages by the grantees. The grantees in their turn were required to be of good behaviour. The following expressions in the Chammak grant (Corp. Ins. Vol. III page 239) are very interesting. अद्रोहप्रवृत्तानां अब्रह्मघ्नचोरपारदारिकराजापथ्यकारिप्रभृतीनां असंग्रामं कुर्वतां अन्यग्रामेष्वनपराधानामाचन्द्रार्ककालीयः which has been translated as follows:-"The grant will last with the moon and the sun provided that the grantees commit no treason against the state, that they are not slayers of Brahmins, thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, that they do not wage war or commit offences in other villages, otherwise the grants were revokable." This condition not only proves the moral and ordered life in the villages but also shows the circumspect nature of the administration.

The chief requirements of Indian villagers for their material well-being are salt, fuel and grass or grazing. The villagers appear to have had a free and sufficient supply of these things, though these when taken for sale to the market were subject to the tax of 1/6. We have already seen that inam villages are often expressly stated

to be free from tax on salt both dry and wet and on grass. It seem there was then no monopoly of salt-manufacture by government. In many villages there were wells of salt water and in some places salt was dug out from hills. Such quantities were of course limited and salt manufactured on a large scale for sale was an important commodity for taxation which even the ancient governments did not disregard. As for grass and grazing, there were apparently common grazing grounds in every village. Pasture-plots enclosed and giving valuable grass are noticed in Smṛitis and are called *vivita*. When grass was taken from these for sale to the market it paid the government the usual tax. Lastly, fuel was obtainable by the villagers for their own use in the forests of their own villages. Each village had its own forest. And there were forests on the borders of kingdoms invariably. These forests are treated by the Smritis as ownerless. However portions of forests called *Nāgavana* where elephants abounded were preserved. But other forests and village forests were open free for villagers. Bāna describes tracts bordering on forests and forest villages and the forests themselves with that love of interesting detail which constitutes the singular charm of the Harsha Charita. Some of these details are worth quoting here. Unrestrained forest guards often seized the hatchets of wood cutters of *other* villages going to cut wood in forests (अनियंत्रितवनपालहठह्रियमाणपरग्रामीणकाष्ठिककुठारैः H. C. page 304). There were small fields in these forests tilled not by ploughs and bullocks but by hand spades. There were *prapas* or water-providing huts at the entrance of waterless forests. In some places great heat was created by the burning of wood for charcoal. At some places you would meet with bands of wood-cutters with bodies exercised with the constant cutting of wood, having long hatchets on their shoulders to which were slung their breakfast baskets. At others you would meet with people carrying loads of honey, mākshika, feathers of peacocks, honey-combs, barks of khadira tree, &c. as also women of forest tribes having on their heads basketfuls of forest flowers and fruit, going to villages to sell them. These and

other details show that people had free access to forests for jungle produce and jungle tribes freely took forest produce for sale to the bordering separate villages.

Villages thus in those days were usually well regulated and self-sufficient communities whose life was easy, and well ordered. They were not however quite without their own troubles though petty. The usual pest of the villages then as now was the policeman and the soldier; the Chāta' and the Bhata as they are called in grants. The grantees of inam villages were, therefore, specially granted the privilege that their villages would not be entered by the policeman and the soldier. The word अचाटभटप्रवेश्य occurs in almost every grant and conveys this important privilege to inam donees. Sometimes an exception was made by the word चोरवर्ज्यम्. Dr. Fleet translates it by 'with the exception of fines imposed on thieves.' I would however translate it by 'with the exception that villages may be entered for the purpose of pursuing or catching thieves.' The exception plainly relates to the प्रवेश or entry of village. The word द्रोह is sometimes further added *e. g.* चोरद्रोहकवर्जं: in Khoh grant of Samkshobha (Corps Ins. III p. 115), and it shows that the right to enter *inam villages extended to the pursuit or detection of* traitors. It would be natural to expect that the state would not allow, as has been already noticed, inam villages to which the privilege of 'non-entry by policemen and soldiers was granted, being the centres of the activity of robbers or traitors. The state villages of course remained open to the unavoidable oppression of the policeman and the soldier. The latter, however, must have troubled them at rare intervals only that is when on march or doing fight.

The villages were usually prosperous in spite of these occasional troubles; and they were expected to perform certain charitable duties. The prosperous village was expected to keep a Sadāvarta or alms' house where grain

The word Chāta or Chātra as it some times occurs means unquestionably the policeman. It occurs in H. C. also (p. 236) as noticed further on. It occurs also in the Yājñavalkya Smriti, but I am afraid it is wrongly interpreted by Vijnāneśvara who lived in the 12th Century.

was given to every needy person every day. It was also expected to keep open a *prapā* or water-house, where water was served to every thirsty person throughout the day It was also expected to open a rest house or Sabhā and a *prāgvanśa* or sacrificial room. Bāṇa in describing the prosperous condition of the Śrīkantha or Thanesar kingdom under Prabhākara Vardhana refers to this duty in the expression वहिरुपरचितविकटसभासत्रप्रापवंशमण्डपैः प्रसूतामवि ग्रामैः (H.C. p. 176) which means that outside every village were erected spacious mendaps for *sabha, satra, prapā and prāgvanśa.* These mandapas were of course temporary sheds erected for temporary purposes, that is, to be kept open during the summer and winter seasons and not during the rainy season and autumn, when travellers were not expected to move or be in need.

We will now pass on from the village to the Vishaya or Tehsil. As the headman of the village was its chief officer, so for the Vishaya there was necessarily a chief government officer called Vishayapati in several inscriptions (*e. g.* विषयपतिसर्वनागस्यान्तर्वेद्यां) (Corp. Ins. III p. 70). Manu declares that there should be a chiefman for each village, a chief man for ten villages, for twenty. for one hundred and for one thousand. (VII, 115).

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्यात् दशग्रामपतिं तथा ।

विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

This is perhaps academical but we have clear references to the Vishayapati in records and the Vishaya consisted of a number of villages, the average of which was a hundred. The district *i.e.* Bhukti or Mandala may be taken to contain one thousand villages more or less, and there was a district officer also called Mandaleśvara or Rāshtrapati. The Vishayapati and the Mandaleśvara represented the king and hence they often are called Rājasthānīya in inscriptional records.* Subordinate to these there were other officers also, chiefly a police officer and a magistrate. The duty of catching thieves and exterminating robbers

*See e.g. Corp. Ins. III p. 651. (राजस्थानीयकुमार &c.)

was always considered paramount and police stations were established for every ten or less number of villages as provided for even in the Manusmriti VII, 114. (द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पंचाना मध्ये गुल्ममधिष्ठितम् । तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्याद्राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहम् ।) The police officer of 100 villages or rather. of the Vishaya (Tehsil or Taluka) is called Chauroddharanika (चैरोद्धरणिक), while the magistrate or dispenser of punishment was called दण्डनायक. These names occur in several inscriptions of the time. Of course, in different states, names of officers sometimes differed, but apparently the system was generally the same. We give below some names of officers appearing in the Deo-Barnak inscription (of Bengal) Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 216 नगरभुक्तौ वाल्वींवपयिक श्रीवेापद्रलिक्षान्तःपातिवारुणिकाग्रामः. ... दूत सीमकर्मकर मध्य राजपुत्रराजामात्यमहादण्डनायक महाप्रतीहार. (illegible) प्रमाता...कुमारामात्यराजस्थानीयोपरिक...धिक चौरोद्धरणिक दाण्डिकदण्डपाशिक. The officers whose names can well be ascertained in the above are the दूत or envoy, the सीमकर्मकर or marker of boundaries, राजपुत्र the heir apparent or king's eldest son, राजामात्य king's ministers, महादण्डनायक the chief dispenser of punishments for the whole state, महाप्रतिहारी the chief usher, प्रमातृ the measurer, कुमारामात्य minister in charge of princes, राजस्थानीय the representatives of the king (i. e. District and Taluka or Tehsil officers), चौरोद्धरणिक the pursuers of robbers, दण्डिक magistrates and दण्डपाशिक executers of sentences. These names indicate that almost all departments of administration which are necessary for a well ordered, civilized government existed in those days. The boundary settlement officer, District and Taluka chief officer, the surveyor or measurer, the magistrate, the police officer, and the दण्डपाशिक or jailor are there and do the work required of them in a complex administration.

It does not appear that in ancient India there was any distinction observed in civil and criminal cases. Probably civil cases were very few and far between, disputes being settled by Panchayats; but when they went to the state, either to the king's own court or to the court of the chief judicial officer, they were treated as cases for fine, the party losing having to pay a penalty so to speak. The Rājasthānīya or the Mahādandanāyaka or the chief

magistrate probably decided all such cases, on oral or documentary evidence and by the advice or opinion of assessors or what is called the Parishad. We have of course no reference to the Parishad in the inscriptions but probably the provisions of the Smritis must have been observed. Hiuen Tsang describes that in case of doubt ordeals were resorted to, and the four kinds of ordeals are worth being quoted here.

"These are by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floats and the other sinks, the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron, to take it in his hand and lick it. If he is innocent he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect." Watters' Vol. I, p. 172.

The appointment of officers and of courts requires the maintenance of records as we have already stated and that such records were maintained is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang. He says (Watters' Vol. I page 154) "As to their archives and records, there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state papers are called collectively 'nīlapītha.' In these good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail." The name nīlapītha reminds one of the blue state publications of the British government. The historian of Kashmir, Kalhana states that he wrote his history from the nīlamata. The existence and maintenance of such records should dispel the common notion that India had no historical records. Unfortunately these have been lost in the convulsions attending the conquest of India by the Mahomedans.

The Vishaya or Ahāra (Gujarat) or Nadu (south India) was like the village a fixed quantity which did not vary with the growth or decay of kingdoms. They had fixed natural boundaries and were in fact natural divisions of the country. They corresponded to the modern Tehsils or Talukas and like the villages exist in my opinion in the same form now, as they existed in the 7th century. The number of villages in each Vishaya was thus naturally fixed. The total number of villages in a Bhukti or Mandala was also normally fixed, though perhaps the extent of a Bhukti was more subject to modifications than the extent of the Vishaya. Several Bhuktis or Mandalas corresponding to modern districts constituted a kingdom i. e. the Deśa or Rāshtra, and the number of villages in a Deśa was also approximately fixed. We hence see in ancient inscriptions countries described as consisting of so many thousand or hundred villages and gradually this number became a traditional one. In the Aihole inscription the Mahārāshtra country is said to consist of 99,000 villages and is also described as comprising* three Mahārāshtras. What these three Mahārāshtras were we are not told. But if we take the larger Mahārāshtra subject to the Chālukya Pulakeśin as consisting of the Nagpur and Berar divisions of the C. P. and central and southern divisions of the Bombay presidency with the two districts of Thana and Surat of the Northern division and the Maratha districts of the Nizam's state, we have at present the following number of villages in these:—Nagpur and Berar Dvns. 16565, Central and Southern divisions 17699, Nizam state Maratha Districts 17000 approxmately and Thana and Surat 4000—total 55264. This number falls short considerably of 99000 villages assigned to the Mahārāshtra of Pulakeśin but perhaps a larger portion of the Hydrabad State was included in the ancient kingdom of the Chalukyas.† The discrepancy would not be very consider-

* अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां । नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

† The same kingdom but of the later Chālukyas is also described in old records as Rattapādi seven and a half lakhs including the Āndhra Mandala; we will discuss this number in a note.

able. supposing even that Mahārāshtra under Pulakesin was more flourishing than under the British government. The number usually attached to certain names of Rāshtras or Mandalas is, however, not always the number of villages in that Rāshtra but something else, unless it is expressly stated that the number relates to villages (see note at the end).

We have thus far elucidated the civil administration in a kingdom as it existed in the 7th century. The unit was the village with its head-man अक्षपटलिक or महत्तर and its registrar the करणिक. The Vishaya or Taluka consisted of a certain number of villages and there were officers for each Taluka. These were विषयपति, the चौरोद्धरणिक and the दण्डनायक. Similar officers were appointed to the Bhukti or District, and there were chief officers for the whole state who were called महाक्षपटलिक, महादण्डनायक and so on. These officers were paid by the assignment of certain lands or villages or towns even as their grade rose higher. The Manu Smriti provides that the grāmika (headman) should get for the year what the king gets for one day and the head of a hundred villages should get one whole village for his pay and of a thousand, one town. (यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः। अन्नपानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥ ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पुरम् ॥7, ॥8, ॥9.) This direction appears to have still been in force in the 7th century as Hiuen Tsang records "that ministers of state and common officers all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them."

CHAPTER IX

ARMY, NOBLES AND COURT

We will now pass on to the army. It consisted of foot, horse and elephant. The fourth arm, the chariot is mentioned no doubt by Hiuen Tsang but probably he here mentions the conventional four arms or chaturanga of the Indian army. Bāṇa describes most minutely the army of Harsha and we find no mention therein of the chariot Hiuen Tsang also does not mention chariots when he details the strength of Harsha's army. The elephant was from ancient days the most formidable arm of the Indian forces. Foreigners feared Indian armies for the elephant corps. Elephants were then what artillery is now-a-days in Europe. And the greater the number of elephants, the greater was the power of the army in much the same way as the greater the number of cannon in modern armies, the greater is their power of destruction. These numerous elephants were supplied by the immense forests fringing the Himalayas and the Vindhyas as already mentioned. The art of catching elephants, of rearing them and of training them to fight had almost reached perfection in the 7th century and there were regular treatises on all these subjects. The use of the elephant again developed the courage, the strength and the skill of fighters with elephants. The Indian soldiers and horsemen often grappled with elephants with effect. And when put to flight the elephant force was usually a nuisance to its own employers. The elephant arm was thus both a source of strength as well as of weakness to Indian armies as history has often recorded. Probably the commander manœuvered the elephant force in battles in such a way that in the event of its turning back it could not do harm to the rest of the army. On the march the elephant force was always kept at a distance as Bāna has described (see below).

The cavalry came next. India supplied the horses required, but Indian horses were ranked lower than horses

imported from Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan. In the inner camp of Harsha, Bāṇa describes the royal horses as कांबोजज, वनायुज, सिंधुज, आरट्टज, भारद्वाज and पारसीक (H. C. p. 100). कांबोज is Afghanistan and पारसीक is Persia. सिंधुज meant probably Arabian horses, being brought to Sind by the sea. What वनायु, आरट्ट and भारद्वाज are it is difficult to state. Unfortunately we have not been able to identify these countries. (Bhāradvāja seems to be some Himalayan tract from Varāhamihira's list of peoples and Āratta probably means the Panjab). In the training and raising of horses the same pitch of excellence had been attained in India as in that of the elephants. The marks of a good horse, the nature of his diseases and the modes of treating them are detailed with fullness in the treatises of Śālihotra, some of whose principles are referred to even in Bāṇa's Harsha-Charita. Strangely enough, Bāṇa mentions the grooms to be always Chāndālas.

The infantry came the last as it was not counted of much value. The soldiers were armed with bucklers and swords. The foot archer does not seem to be a prominent feature of the Indian army in Harsha's days, though the riders on elephants usually used the bow and the arrow. Every prince and Rajput appears to have practised archery. Bāṇa's description of Harsha, Rājya, Kumāra, Mādhava and others mentions their wrists and arms as blackened by the constant drawing of the bow.

Harsha's army on the march has been graphically described by Bāṇa, who in the Harsha Charita at least, is remarkably true to fact and nature. It would not be improper if we give here a few extracts from that description though it must be admitted that very many passages in it cannot be well understood at this distance of time and in the present state of our imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit of things used in the army. "One prahara (3 hours) before sunrise exactly, the royal marching drum began to send forth its sound, and shortly after a pause, there were eight distinct strokes given on it intimating that the army was to march that day eight kos (or 16 miles). Other royal

sounding instruments followed namely the Nāndi (or triumphal drum), Kunja. Kāhala and Śankha (or conch). The army was immediately in a bustle. people got up and struck off their small tents. boxes were filled with the marching materials and other paraphernalia. Elephants were roused from their sleep and taken out of their sleeping places and harnessed. Horses too were roused and taken out and made ready. Mad elephants were moved out of the way with heavy iron chains clanking behind them, as their hind legs dragged them. Families of Kulaputras (relatives) and Sāmantas (chiefs) were got into bullock carts or on elephants and moved. The royal kitchen servants with their paraphernalia and animals of food (Harsha appears to have been a flesh-eater in his young days) and with pots of milk and other preparations covered and *sealed*, walked fast and pushed people here and there. The princes in attendance, well attired and seated on female elephants, with umbrellas on their heads and with foot soldiers walking about them, hurried to the gate of the royal camp."

"As the sun was rising. the royal intimation conch began to send forth its peculiar notes announcing that the king was ready and donning his accoutrements. Within a few minutes Harsha came out of the gate riding a richly caparisoned she-elephant. (she-elephants appear to have been used by royal personages for riding on the march), surmounted by a white umbrella. with Tāmbūla or betelleaf in his mouth (he had already bathed and taken some refreshment), wearing a very delicate white piece of Naitra cloth. Exchanging glances of greeting with the princes and speaking a word here and a word there, he moved on to a place preceded by hundreds of gold mace-bearers who were making room in the crowd and staying there he saw the whole army pass on, an army as vast as the creation itself coming out of the milky ocean." Then the army marched swiftly to the next halting place at a distance of 8 krośa. Bāṇa true to nature also depicts the many interesting incidents that usually happen on a Royal march. "At some villages the villagers curious to see the

king would turn out preceded by their Mahattaras or Patils and by women having pots full of water on their heads and when turned back by the mace-bearers running and falling and yet looking at the king. At others, people would cry out complaints against the evil doings of tax-collectors (भोगपति) and the past delinquencies of police-men (चाट). H. C. p. 286. At others still, the people reckless from rage at the pilfering of their crops and grass would pour denunciations on the king, crying 'Who is the king? Whence does the king come? What sort of man is the king? At one village two Brahmin disputants got into high trees for fear of being hustled away by the mace-bearers and from thence kept crying out their own complaints." Such amusing incidents so characteristic even of the present Indian ryot happened in the days of Harsha also. The army contained contingents of cavalry-detachments commanded by their own Rajput leaders. There is no description of the cavalcade of the Royal seraglio which formed so conspicuous a section of the Mogul army on march as described by Manucci. Probably Harsha was unmarried at this time, that is, when he started for his digvijaya and no sergalio hampered his movements. Having arrived at the next halting place Harsha dismissed his attendant princes at the gate of the royal enclosure and is shown to have entered it alone.

There does not appear to have been any mercenary forces in the army of Harsha.* It consisted generally of Rajputs and other lower castes of the king's country. The Kulaputras (or relatives of the kingly family or king's clansmen) seem to have always been of importance. What they represent in modern times we cannot exactly say. (Perhaps they are the modern Bhāiband of Rajput states). Each arm had its commander, and the whole was under the commander-in-chief. The description by Bāṇa of Harsha's commander-in-chief is as detailed and complete as any by

* Curiously enough दाक्षिणात्य or Deccan horsemen are mentioned by Bāṇa in the description of Harsha's army. Perhaps they were few. But the reference testifies to the ancient skill of the Marathas in horsemanship.

a modern English novelist. (H. C. p. 257) He was a tall, yellow-complexioned, massive, deep-voiced, bearded and whiskered man of about 80 bearing many scars on his half bare body The mention of many scars seems somewhat strange, for the higher grades of officers must have worn an armour when in fight. Armours however are not mentioned in the descriptions given by Bāna. All the same, they must have been used as they are mentioned even in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana.

The army was maintained by the king from his own revenues. The men were probably paid yearly in kind and money, corn being given from the granaries of the state filled with grain collected in every district in the form of revenue from lands. This is the mode of payment mentioned by Manu though there is no reference to it in the Harsha Charita or Hiuen 'Tsang's Records. The maintenance of a vast army of elephants was indeed a matter of very great expense. Probably the 60,000 elephants mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as eventually forming the force of Harsha, the emperor, is an exaggeration. At all events it could not have been maintained at one place, but in sections kept at several places, throughout the empire. The feed and nuisance of so large an elephant force are almost incalculable. The permanent camping of an elephant force is indeed a novel affair to us at this distance of time. Bāna with his usual liking for details has described the elephant camp at Sthāneśvara with all its intricate paraphernalia, when Harsha was not yet an emperor but merely king of Sthāneśvara, the commander of the elephant force being one Skandagupta with his prominently long nose "as long as the pedigree of his master." We will give some of the interesting details in this description. 'There were physicians of elephants who reported every day the health of the bigger ones to the commander. There were drivers ornamented with peacock feathers on the head and followers of elephants propitiating newly caught elephants with green cane grass. Some reported the fresh rutting of elephants; some sought orders

for mounting heavy drums on the vicious ones. There were foresters reporting the capture of elephants in jungles by the help of what are jokingly called गणिका or curtezan she-elephants (these were female elephants who enticed by their blandishments wild elephants within enclosures) There were bogus elephants made of hide with which elephants were taught to fight. There were purchasers of grain from towns and villages for the food of elephants. These and other details of the working of an elephant camp are indeed interesting at this day when the elephant arm has disappeared from Indian armies.

Before proceeding further we may cite the description of an Indian army recorded by Hiuen Tsang for the sake of comparison as well as further detail.

"The national guard are heroes of choice valour, and as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign's residence and in war they become the intrepid vanguard. The army is composed of foot, horse, chariot and elephant soldiers. The war elephant is covered with coat of mail and his tusks are provided with sharp barbs. On him rides the commander-in-chief and there is a soldier on each side to manage the elephant. The chariot in which the officer sits is drawn by four horses while infantry guard it on both sides. The infantry go lightly into action and are men of intrepid valour. They bear a large shield and carry a long spear. Some are armed with swords or daggers and dash to the front line of the advancing battle. They are perfect experts with all the implements of war having been drilled in them for generations." Watters' Vol. I p. 171.

SĀMANTAS OR NOBLES

The Sāmantas or Sardars as they are now called in India or the nobles as they are called in the west, were a necessary and a usual part of the administrative machinery of a country in ancient India. The word Sāmanta is

clearly derived from Samanta or vicinity and means etymologically those who are near the king. The Sāmantas were mostly the king's kinsmen and relatives or such families as had rendered meritorious services in past times or scions and representatives of dispossessed kingly families. They appear to be always territorial lords and were miniature kings in their own subject territories. For they clearly had the power to make grants, as inscriptions show many grants made by Sāmantas. They were also masters of small armies, with which they were bound to assist the king whenever he moved against his enemies. They were also bound to assist the king on other necessary occasions as Bāna mentions an Ātavika-Sāmanta (*i. e.* a feudatory chief of the forest country) coming to assist Harsha in his search for his sister. (H. C. p. 309). These feudatories or nobles or Sardars lived usually, however, at the capital town and graced the Darbar on all state occasions Their wives similarly attended on the queen. Bāna describes the wives of the Sāmantas as coming in hundreds to the palace at the time of Harsha's birth and keeping the birth festival by dancing as has already been stated. (H. C. p. 186 समन्तात्सामन्तान्तःपुरसहस्राण्यदृशन्त). The Sāmantas with their wives thus exactly fulfilled the functions which dukes and duchesses and other noblemen and noblewomen discharge in European countries. Besides this duty of attending on the king and queen on state occasions, the Sāmantas often appear to be employed as officers. Bhandi for instance was the son of a Sāmanta chief and was the commander of the Thanesar cavalry force. Skānda-gupta, again, the leader of the elephant force of Thanesar was himself a Pārthiva or king (H. C. p. 267) *i. e.* a feudatory chief or Sāmanta. The Sāmantas were usually then as now employed in the military service, but perhaps they must sometimes have been employed even in the capacity of ministers of whom we shall now go on to speak.

The ministers were certainly as necessary a part of the administration as the nobles. They were called Mantris (councillors.) or Sachivas (helpers) or Amātyas

(those who live with the king, the word being derived from Amā together). Their number was not fixed, but they had separate departments to look to, or functions to discharge. The most important and usually mentioned is the सान्धिविग्रहिक or the minister of peace and war, in other words the minister for foreign affairs. Thus Bāṇa describes Harsha as asking his foreign minister to write to all other courts (महासंधिविग्रहाधिकृतमवन्तिकमन्तिकस्थमादिदेश H. C. p. 263). These officers are called mahā or great because they belong directly to the court and attend on the king. They were often hereditary. See Corp. Ins. III p. 35. अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यो व्यापृतसंधिविग्रह: In grants of inam villages the names of such officers frequently find mention. These Śāsanas (or Sanads) are written by a responsible officer who is usually described as भोगिक, one who is entrusted with the collection of भोग or tax *i. e.* a revenue officer, sometimes even the foreign minister also. It was customary to give the name of the father and the grandfather also of the writer. See *e. g.* Corp. Ins. III p. 104. लिखितं च वकामात्यप्रणप्त्रा भोगिकनरदत्तनप्त्रा भोगिक रविदत्तपुत्रेण महासांधिविग्रहिक सूर्यदत्तेन. See also ditto p. 119. लिखितं मया भोगिक राज्यकामात्यनप्टभोगिकध्रुवदत्तभोगिक गुंजकीर्तिना. Bhogika has not been explained by Dr. Fleet but as we have just said he probably was a minister of Bhoga or revenue.* The grants also always mention a Dūtakara (messenger) who is always an important person. It appears that a minsiter or other important officer was specially deputed to deliver on the spot the land or village to the grantee and to make the grant known to the villagers and village officers. For instance, in the grant at page 119 ditto, the Dūtaka is उपरिक-दीक्षित-गृहपति स्थपति-सम्राट्शर्यदत्तः 'who was the chief of sacrificers, householders and sthapatis', probably the head of the department of religion or state church. Sometimes the grant deed was written out at the king's own dictation and the word स्वमुखाज्ञया is used, see Corp. Ins. III p. 199. And it is curious to note that grant deeds were sometimes signed by the

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* See also H. C. p. 198. असतोपि पूर्वभोगपतिदोषानुद्भावयद्भिः i.e. villagers complaining of imaginary evil deeds of past tax-collectors

king himself. Harsha's own signature is thus before us in the Banskheda grant.* Probably the king signed the deed written on paper and the copyist engraved its exact counterpart on copper, for the real signature is on the copper plate. The signature of Harsha is in a very ornate hand. Ornate letters were then usually written. And it is further curious to add that the word for signature is its exact English equivalent in the expression "given under my own hand," (स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीहर्षस्य). Further the signature is not sufficient and must be supported by the seal as in English documents. The seal or मुद्रा of Harsha is thus also known to us, and usually the seal was impressed on the linking of the copperplates. Strangely enough our connection with our own past is so completely broken by the intervening Mahomedan rule that we have forgotten our ancient words for seal and signature namely मुद्रा and स्वहस्त and know only the Mahomedan equivalents namely Muhr and Sahī. The use of the king's own signature shows that the ministers had not the power to make valid grants of lands and villages. Their authority was restricted.

Besides the ministers there were other important officers called superintendents or अध्यक्ष namely, the superintendent of शुल्क or customs, of कोष्ठागार or storehouses, of दुर्ग or fort and so on. They did not enjoy the rank of अमात्य or minister but yet were important officers. We have already described the district officers but these Adhyakshas seem to be officers of the whole state and as such may be ranked next to the ministers. These may not have been hereditary though the tendency has always been in India to make offices hereditary. The grant of Pravarasena of the Vākātakas Corp. Ins. III page 237 mentions these officers in the line यतोस्मत्सन्तव्यका सर्वाध्यक्षाधियोगनियुक्ताःआज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्रका भटाश्च छात्राश्च विश्रुत्य पूर्वाजयाज्ञापितव्याः (Translated as follows by Dr. Fleet "our obedient and highborn officers employed in the office of general superintendents.")

Lastly, we come to the court. The centre of the court was of course the king. He was an absolute

† Thus Dharsena's grant and that of Silāditya are also signed by them. See Corp Ins. III pages 167 and 180.

monarch; he was, however, bound by laws of divine origin and therefore of an unchangeable nature. He was, again, considered the father of his people and was also the dispenser of justice. Except in a few exceptional cases, the king though despotic, was therefore generally a just and an affectionate ruler and was also in return loved by the people. The king of course was born to enjoy and had come to the royal station, so the people believed, by reason of austerities performed in former lives. He was, therefore, always surrounded by young and beautiful women. He was attended on by these damsels as his Chāmara-bearer, Tambūla-Karanka-bearer and so on. They stood about him even in open court. This feature of an ancient king's life strikes us as almost voluptuous. But it was a long established practice of the court. Even Manu Smriti (7,224) describes the king as always surrounded by women.* Megasthenes also does the same. (Ancient India Mc. Crindle's Megasthenes page 71 & 72). Kālidāsa also describes the king as attended by Yavanis and lastly Bāṇa describes even the chaste and self-restrained Harsha as attended by beautiful young women in court when Bāṇa went to see him. (H. C. p. 118). Even on elephants when marching or fighting, the king had young women for his arm-bearers. Probably this custom was originally borrowed from the Persians by Chandragupta or even the Nandas who copied the forms of the Persian court, then the most powerful and magnificent imperial court in the world, It is hence that we can explain the mention of *Yavanis* by Kālidāsa as attending kings. In Bāna's days these women were not probably Yavanis as they are not so described. They were always selected for their strength, health and beauty. Except for great kings like Harsha who was martial and of great moral strength, these women must generally have been a cause of great moral degeneracy in Indian kings.

The king had an anointed queen and several other wives who were, however, subordinate to the former. The

* Though according to the Mahābhārata ancient kings before Chandragupta's days had no such attendants.

anointed queen had a Pattabandha about her forehead. It was a narrow golden belt ornamented with jewels.

The palace had besides the harem always more than three kakshas or courtyards; the outer one being for people and for state reception, the next inner one for Sardars and the third for intimate persons only. The palaces were stately buildings, though not of stone. The floors, however. are described as made of shining stones. The columns and walls were ornamented with gold and even precious stones. The palace was usually a several-storeyed building with inner gardens of flowerbeds and large fruit trees (see the description of the palace of Prabhākara Vardhana at Thanesar by Bāna. H. C. pages 215-6.)

The king was then theoretically and usually practically both the leader of armies on the battle-field and the dispenser of justice at home. The throne room or audience hall was also the house of justice and Manu and other Smṛitis require the king to attend court every morning to dispense justice to the people. Here everybody had admission as a matter of course. Suitors were sometimes permitted to draw the attention of kings to their wrongs by ringing the bell of justice hung in the audience hall.* The king dispensed justice with the help of Brahmin and Kshatriya and Vaiśya assessors.

The Smritis direct the king to divide his time for convenience of business into three portions: one devoted to dispensation of justice, one to administration and the third to his own recreation and pleasure. Harsha followed this practice most scrupulously as Hiuen Tsang has recorded and his times were most punctually observed. Drums and conches announced to the public what the king was doing at any particular time. Some sounding instruments were looked upon as royal *i. e.* to be used by kings only. These instruments are described as five in number in the epithet समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दः which usually occurs in inscriptions as applied to kings, and even Sāmantas or feudatory chiefs (see Corp. Ins. p. 294). What

* Aiyangar's Ancient India p. 246.

these five were has been discussed in a note at p. 296-29 ditto where Prof. Pāthaka's view is referred to (In. Ant. Vol. XII p. 98.) and the instruments are stated to be the Śringa or horn (trumpet), the Rammata (tambour), Śankha (conch), Bheri (kettle drum) and Jayghantā (gong). But it seems they are mentioned in the following line of Bāṇa: रटत्पटहे नदन्नान्दीके, गुञ्जत्कुञ्जे कूजत्काहले शब्दायमाने शङ्खे (H.C. p. 275). The Pataha or drum and the Sankha or conch were of course prominent and are easily recognisable.* Hiuen Tsang mentions that Harsha's drum was given a stroke with a golden stick for each pace that he walked, a distinction which was not allowed to any other king. Perhaps this was done in special honour of Harsha as Emperor or king of kings. We may well imagine the importance of royal drums and conches in those days when cannon had no existence.

The king was usually surrounded by his body-guard which consisted of select strong men of hereditary service. Bāṇa describes the guardsmen of Harsha as devoted men with strongly exercised half-bare bodies, yellowish fair in complexion, standing arround him in a row at fixed distances and poetically compares them to a colonnade of golden pillars surrounding the king. (H. C. p. 110). The king's seat was usually a couch, the four feet of which were inlaid with ivory and the surface covered with a slab of stone sprinkled with sandal pigment. There was also a small portable seat of the king called Āsandi. When the Malava king was conquered and slain in battle the things seized in plunder were his Sinhāsana (throne) Śayana (couch) and Āsandi (chair) (H. C. p. 103). For the resting of the foot there was always a jewelled footstool called Pādapītha.

The Pratihāri or the usher of the king was an important personage about him. The head usher had several subordinates under him. The head Pratihāri of Harsha is minutely described by Bāṇa as a tall, gold-complexioned, broad-chested man with his body encased in a fresh washed

* Of the rest Nāndi is given in M. William's dictionary as in music a measure Dvādaśatūrya-ghosha and Kāhala is given as a large drum (Panchatantra).

kanchuka or coat, wearing a golden belt about the waist, provided with a jewelled buckler, a necklace about his chest, and kundalas in his ears, a white turban on his head, a pearl-hilted sword in his left hand and a golden wand in his right (H. C. p. 98). The Pratihāri is always called Kanchuki which shows that he alone used a coat. His white turban is also peculiar to him for the others had usually bare topknot hair surmounted by garlands. This description probably proves that like the Yavanī attendants, the Kanchuki was also borrowed from the Persian court.

In one important particular, however, in the seventh century the Persian court system appears to have been abandoned. I find no mention of eunuchs in the description of the royal household in Bāṇa's Harsha Charita and elsewhere. The Varshavaras or eunuchs were undoubtedly employed by Chandragupta. They are mentioned along with the कञ्चुकोष्णीषिण: or Usners by Kautilya, see his Artha Sastra. They are also mentioned in the Bṛihatkathā as employed in the palace at Pātaliputra. Of course the inhuman practice of castrating men for the use of the harems of kings was originally a practice of the Semitic peoples. From the kings of Babylonia and Nineveh the eunuchs were borrowed by the Persians and from them by Chandragupta (or his predecessors the Nandas) and succeeding Mauryas. But later the supply of such persons probably ceased and from the Guptas onwards they are not found in India. This moral reclamation of Indian courts continued down to the time of the Mahomedans who introduced eunuchs again but since the establishment of the civilized and more moral British rule, this pest has ceased to disfigure even the courts of Indian princes.

A study of the inscriptions recorded in the Corp. Ins. Vol. III discloses that dependent kings used the title Mahārāja, independent kings Mahārājādhirāja and also Parama Bhattāraka; while emperors added to this the title Parameśvara. The Chālukya king Pulakeśin assumed this title, it is expressly said, because he defeated the Emperor Harsha. Besides these titles generally used

particular kings affected particular adjuncts or rather epithets. For instance, the Chalukyas called themselves Prithivīvallabha, the Valabhi kings called themselves Senāpatis, the Guptas used the word Vijitāvani Avanipati on their coins. The Vākātakas called themselves Parivrājakas because perhaps they were Brahmins, and so on.

Every line of kings had its separate banner or Dhvaja and Lānchhanas or crest as it is translated by Dr. Fleet. The Lānchhana was used no doubt on coins and seals, but it is not certain if the same symbol might not often be used on the Dhvaja also. The symbol was always an animal. Strangely enough even countries in the west ancient and modern also adopt particular animals only as their symbols. The Lānchhana of the Guptas appears to have been a peacock, that of the Vardhanas of Thanesar a bull. That of the Chālukyas appears to be a Varāha or boar. The Lānchhana of the great conqueror Yaśodharman of Mandsaur inscription was the *Aulikara* (Corp. Ins. III p. 151-153). Aulikara must be some animal* but what animal it is has not yet been determined. The Dhvaja or banner had also distinctive animals on them such as a lion, a monkey and so on. The colour of the Dhvaja also seems to have been distinctive in each royal family-distinctions which are still observed.

The royal umbrella was always of the white colour. The emblems of royalty as enumerated in a Śloka of the Bhāgavata Purana were (1) Chāmara, (2) Vyajana, (fan) (3) Śankha, (4) White Umbrella, (5) Crown, (6) Sinhāsana and (7) Śayyana or Couch. These things those who were not kings were not allowed to have (Bhāgavata X, 26-61).

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* उल is given in dictionaries as a wild animal mentioned in the Atharvaveda.

NOTE—I.

SYSTEM OF VALABHI ADMINISTRATION A. D. 500–700.

(We give below an extract from Bombay Gazatteer, History of Gujarat p. 81-83 detailing Valabhi administration between 500-700 A.D. with our observations.)

The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the leading office, bearers in revenue, police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order:—

1 *Ayuktaka:* }
2 *Viniyuktaka:* } meaning appointed, appearently any suoperior officer.

3 *Drānghika:* apparently an officer in charge of a town as Drangha means a town.

4 *Mahattara or Senior:* has the derivative meaning high in rank. Mhātārā, the Marathi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates Mahattara seems to be generally used to mean accredited head-man of a village, head man recognised both by the people of the village and by the government.

5 *Chātabhata:* i. e. Bhatas or sepoys for Chātas or rouges,* police mounted or on foot, represent the modern police Jamadars Havaldars and constables. Kumārapāla Charita mentions that Chātabhatas were sent by Siddharāja to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla. One plate records the grant of a village 'unenterable by Chātabhatas.'

6 *Dhruva:* fixed or permanent, is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, Talathi or Kulkarni of the modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruva was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in use in Cutch where village accountants are called Dhru or Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among Nagar Brahmins and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch, Gujarat and Kathiawad.

7 *Ādhikaranika:* means the chief judicial magistrate or judge of a place.

8 *Dandapāśika:* literally holding the fetters or noose of punishment, is used both of the head of the police officer or of the hangman or executioner.

9 *Chauroddharaṇika:* the catcher of thieves. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief,

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* Our view is that chāta is a policeman and bhata is a soldier see above.

the other of pagī or tracking system ; the second answers well in sandy Gujarat and Kathiawad where the tracker or pagi is one of the Bārābalute or regular village servants.

10 *Rājasthānīya:* the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms or Rajasthanas. Some authorities take Rājasthānīya to mean viceroy. (We look upon him as Govt. District officer).

11 *Amātya:* Minister and sometimes counciller, is generally coupled with Kumāra or prince. (Kumārāmātya is Āmāt--- for princes and differs from Rājāmātya)

12 *Anutpannadānasamudgrāhaka:* the arrears gatherer.

13 *S'aulkika:* the superintendent of tolls or customs.

14 *Bhogika:* or Bhogoddharaṇika : the collector of the Bhoga i. e. the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule, one sixth. The term Bhoga is still in use in Kathiawad for the share usually 1/6th which land-holders receive from land cultivating tenants.

15 *Vartmapāla:* the road watch were often mounted and stationed in Thanas or small road side shades.

16 *Pratisāraka:* patrols, night-guards or watchmen of fields or villages.

17 *Vishayapati:* division lord, probably corresponded to the modern subhā (rather mamladar)

18 *Rāshtrapati:* the head of a district.

19 *Grāmakūta:* the village headman.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

The plates show traces of 4 territorial divisions.

1 Vishaya the largest corresponding to the modern administrative division.

2 Ahāra or Aharaṇi that is collectorate (ahar, collection) corresponding to the modern district or zillah.

3 Pathaka, of the road, a subdivision, a place named and its surroundings.

4 Sthali : a petty division of a place without surroundings.

The district of Kaira and the province of Kathiawad to which the Valabhi grants chiefly refer appear to have had separate systems of land assessment, Kaira by yield, Kathiawad by area. Under the Kathiawad system the measurement was by the padāvarta literally the space between one foot and the other that is the modern Kadam or

pace. The pace used in measuring land seems to have differed from the ordinary pace as most of the Kathiawad grants mention the bhūpadāvarta or land pace. The Kaira system of assessment was by yield, the unit being piṭaka or basketful, the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of rice or barley, (or as requiring so many baskets of seed.) As the grants always specify the Kaira basket a similar system with a different-sized basket seems to have been in use in other parts of the country. Another detail which the plates preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or some tree or plant. Among field names are Kotilaka, Atimenakedāra, Khandakedāra, Gurjarakshetra, Bhimakshetra.".

(In the above Chauroadbaranika is a higher police officer than the mere pagi. For the word occurs in nothern grants also. Again Rājasthānīya cartainly means the representative of the king in the district or tehsil and has nothing to do with Rājasthān a modern word for state. This word occurs in the Mandsaur inscription also as already stat ed,and there stands for the subā or viceroy. By Vishaya I would takethe modern tehsil and Vishayapati, Tehsildar and not subā who would be Rāshtrapati more properly.

It may be added that nearly the same names were used in nothern India as we have shown in our extact from the Deo-Barnak inscription already given.)

2.—7½ LAKHS RATTAPADI.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his Ancient History of India gives discrepant explanations of this figure. In a foot-note at page 40, he says that this figure refers either to the revenue or the number of villages. In a footnote at page 78 explaining Gangavaḍi 96000, Nolambavaḍi 36000 and Banavāsi 12000 he says that these figures refer either to the revenue or the value of the produce. and refers to the opinion of Mr. Rice that they indicate the former and also to the opinion of Dr. Fleet that they refer to the number of townships in spite of the apparant exaggeration. Contrary to his previous note Mr. Aiyangar adds that this cannot be from the existing practice and that it must be either revenue or income or thirdly the quantity of seed required. Now these figures are indeed a riddle. But they cannot apparently stand for the number of villages which for Mahārāshtra's Raṭṭapaḍi has been expressly stated to be 99000. The proportion of 99000 to 750,000 is approximately 7½. This cannot be either the revenue or the amount of produce nor the number of ploughs as the average of ploughs for a village is about 25. Yet the agricultural statistics of India for 1904 gives the number of ploughs for the Bombay Presidency as 9,34.031. The extent of the later Chālukya Empire may be taken a little less and the number 7½ lakhs may even stand for

ploughs. We shall, however, leave the question undecided and refer to it again hereafter. The word saptārdha laksha as applied to Raṭṭapaḍi cannot be referred to the number of villages even in the whole portion of India to the south of the Narmadā. For even the whole of India does not contain at present more than 730, 806 villages. (Of course we are here arguing on the supposition that the number of villages in India or in any part of it cannot vary far from the number of villages existing in the 7th century A. D.. (such variation at best not exceeding 10 or 12 per cent).The number of villages to the south of the Narmadā at present is approximately, Bombay Presidency 36,593 Madras Presidency 59858, Hydrabad State 20,089, Mysore 17,012, total 1,33,552. But as a matter of fact Raṭṭapaḍi probably includes only Bombay Presidency two divisions, Berar, Nagpur, Hydrabad and a part of Mysore being the extent of the territory subject to the Chālukyas. The number of villages given for this tract in the Aihole inscription viz. 99,000 is approximately correct. Previously the Sātavāhana kingdom of Paithana extended over nearly the same territory. And this explains why the word saptārdha laksha occurs in a Bāṇa inscription also* (Ind. Ant. XV, 195) of about 420 A. D The word may thus be of old standing even and includes the Āndhra territory also. Even in Bāṇa's time the word Dakshiṇāpatha meant the Deccan exclusive, of South India that is the Deccan plateau down to the Malaya mountain. The following extract from H.C. p. 288 is geographically interesting उत्पादितः किंपुरुषविषयः प्रदेशः पारसीकदेशः शशापदं शकस्थानम्। अद्यमानमतिमहति पारियात्रे यात्रैव शिथिला। शौर्यशुल्कः सुलभो दक्षिणापथः। दक्षिणार्णवकल्लोलानिलचलितचन्दन-लतागौरम्भसुन्दरीकृतदरीमन्दिरादर्दुरादूर्ध्वमपि मलयः मलयस्य एव महेन्द्रः। The दक्षिणापथ of this passage corresponds with the above described territory and does not include South India or India south of the Malaya. This country is always called सप्तार्धलक्ष or 7½ lakh territory in inscriptions, a number which cannot represent villinges nor ploughs as we have already stated.

What does it then represent? That is almost a riddle. Can it be the amount of land produce paid as government share? This question it is very difficult to answer. The amount then collected was in kind and not in coin as now. Moreover the government share then was not what it is now, though I think that the British Government does not now take much more than the ⅙th traditional revenue demand in India. Prices moreover have largely changed and we cannot argue from the revenue in money now derived. Yet the produce of land has not much varied, agriculture still remaining primitive, nor the number of villages in the same tract of the country. Hence an estimate may be made of the share of government then realised in kind. Taking the cultivable average of a village as 1000 acres and the produce of one acre as 10 maunds we may take the government share of one village's

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* आन्ध्रमण्डलद्वादशसहस्रग्रामसंपादित सप्तार्धलक्षविषयाधिपतेः &c.

produce $\frac{10000}{6}$ maunds. Here another difficulty intervenes. The present measures of capacity or weight have been introduced since Mahomedan times; the śer, the maund, the Khandi are all Mahomedan. The old measures were Prastha, Ādhaka and Droṇa for measures of capacity and also weight. To what an Ādhaka or Dronas comes as compared with the maund or khandi, cannot possibly be determined with any pretence of exactness. The Manu Smriti gives a Droṇa of corn as a month's sustenance wage of a labourer धान्यद्रोणस्तु मासिकः which at present is taken to be 1¼ maund. Placing these data before the curious reader, we remain content and leave this subject unfinished.

BOOK II

THE FIRST HINDU KINGDOMS

(*Circa 650-800 A. D.*)

CHAPTER I

REVOLUTION IN SIND

(The following account is based on Chacha-nāma a Persian translation of an Arabic account of the 12th century A. D. The account is reliable in many ways, being based on contemporary records, but the dates are usually misgiven, even the conquest of Sind by the Arabs being placed before 712 A. D. by some years. We have tried to give our estimate of the dates by reference to Hiuen Tsang's account who personally visited Sind in 641 A. D. and who mentions that the king there was a Śūdra and not a Brahmin. There are certain legendary stories especially of astrologers' predictions which we omit as usually added afterwards in popular tradition almost all over the ancient world With these corrections; Chacha-nāma may well be followed and it affords us interesting materials for many historical deductions).

At the time of Harsha's death Sind was ruled, as we have already noted, by a Śūdra king named Sāhasī of the Maurya clan a branch of which ruled at Chitor in Rajputana. Sāhasī's capital was Alor a town situated on the left bank of the Indus, now in ruins, the river also having changed its course here. Subject to Sāhasī were three or four smaller kingdoms ruled by Jat and Kshatriya princes the chief two being the Lohana prince of Brahmanabad and the Rajput prince of Siwistān. What Brahmanabad, which is of course an Arabic name, was in ancient Indian geography it is difficult to determine. But it was a town to the south of Alor and some-where near Hydrabad* and

* In Alexander's time there was a city of the Brahmins which he conquered and where he killed many Brahmins for instigating its revolt. Hermatalia is the supposed name of it which is usually taken to be Brahmana-sthala of which Brahmanabad would be the Arabic translation (see Alexander's invasion by McCrindle).

its sway extended upto Debal a town on the sea-coast near modern Karachi. Siwistān seems to be nothing more than the country of the Sibis a noted Kshatriya clan in the Mahābhārata and even in Alexander's time. The Sibis had a principality to the west of the Indus and it was from ancient times subject to Sind. For even in the Mahābhārata Jayadratha king of Sind, is said to be lord of Sind, Sauvira, and Sibi (Vana P. ch. 267) and is accompanied by the princes of the two latter when he goes by way of the Kāmyaka forest on his expedition to the Sālva country. (Vana P. Ch 265). These three are undoubtedly Alor, Brahmanabad, and Siwistān of the Chacha-nāma. Sind had subject chiefships in the north also towards the Panjab and this extensive country was ruled by Sāhasi with whose account the story of the Chacha-nāma begins. The whole country was thoroughly Buddhistic both the ruling king and the subordinate princes and the people *generally being Buddhists even according to* Hiuen Tsang. The country appears to have been, though nominally only, subject to the Emperor Harsha of Kanauj.

Some time about 650 A.D. (so it may approximately be taken) Sāhasi fell ill and died without issue. And his kingdom was seized by Sāhasī's minister Chacha, a Brahmin, and an ambitious, energetic and unscrupulous man. The Chacha-nāma relates that he did so with the assistance, nay, by the instigation of Sāhasī's queen who had fallen in love with him. They kept the death of the king a secret, enticed the turbulant nobles and relatives of the king who were likely to oppose them to the palace and imprisoned them. Then as by an order of the sick king, the government was publicly entrusted to Chacha whose authority was already well established. Chacha made many nobles his partisans by giving them estates of the imprisoned Sardars and when he had a strong party in his favour, he announced the king's death and his own assumption of the crown. He strengthened his position further by marrying the guilty queen of Sāhasī and thus established his own dynasty in the kingdom on a firm basis.

Whatever the truth of the story of the queen's love, the usurpation by the minister Chacha is not a strange or improbable event. Similar events in ancient and modern Indian history can be quoted, for example the usurpation of the Pataliputra empire of the Śungas by their minister the Kanva or the supplanting of the last Bahmani king of Bedar by his minister Kasim Bereed. Nor is Chacha's marrying the queen an unreliable incident. The wives and concubines of deceased or deposed kings have usually been appropriated by usurpers even in Indian history as in Denmark of Shakespear's Hamlet. We may therefore well believe the story of Chacha's usurpation given in the Chacha-nāma though the queen's part in the affair may be set aside as improbable.

The usurpation by a minister is not an improbable event but was it a religious revolution ? We shall presently see. Chachá was a singularly fortunate usurper. He defeated the king of Chitor who was, as we have said, a relative of Sāhasi and presumably a Buddhist and who came to lay claim to the crown and to dethrone the usurping minister. Chacha thus confirmed further strengthened his position and reputation by conquering the northern subject states of Sind and taking Multan made his boundary conterminous with Kashmir, so the Chacha-nāma relates, in the east.

When Chacha had also conquered the northern states of Iskania and Babia with the eastern states of Multan and Karur, he turned his arms towards the west, crossed the river Mekran (Arabic for the Indus) and conquered Mattah the king of Śiwistān or the country of the Siwis (Śibis). He then finally turned towards the south (probably the Arab historian had the story of Chacha related to him by some native reporter who has given it the form of a Digvijaya by Chacha) and called upon Agham Lohana the powerful king of Brahmanabad to submit. But the latter decided to oppose Chacha and a battle was fought outside the town in which Agham was defeated. He retired into the town to which Chacha laid siege. The besieged Agham

who was a Buddhist sent for aid to the ruler of Kanauj the then capital of Hindustan but before a reply could be received Agham died. His young son submitted to the fortunate Chacha who then entered the city and allowed the unmolested inhabitants to remain in the town as before, subject to himself.

The deplorable state of Buddhism of this time can be gathered from the story of the Samāni (Śramana) recluse of the Navavihāra related in the Chacha-nāma. Like Hinduism Buddhism had drifted by this time from the highest philosophy into the grossest superstition and idolatry. This monk was supposed to be a great sorcerer of wonderful powers and Chacha was told that he had assisted Agham with his powers and enabled him to prolong the siege for more than a year. Chacha resolved to have him killed by his swordsmen and went to see him. He was fashioning clay idols of Buddha with his own hand. He did not at first notice the all-powerful king Chacha who for a time stood by him. Having finished his work of idol-making the Samani noticed the king and asked him to sit down offering him a grass mat. Chacha sat and eventually left, not only without having him killed but after promising to help him in repairing the Navavihāra. When asked why he had changed his mind Chacha said he saw a devil hovering above himself ready to pounce upon him! Such were the strange superstitious beliefs of the day about the necromancy of Buddhist monks.

But though Chacha spared the Samāni, he was a biggoted Hindu and his usurpation appears to have been actuated by religious motives also. The Chacha-nāma relates that Chacha while at Brahmanabad made certain rules by which he degraded the turbulent Lohanas and Jats in social position. He made it a rule that they should not carry swords except on occasions of urgent necessity, that they should not wear silken cloth, that they should use scarfs of black or red colour, that they should ride horses without saddle, that they must walk about bare-headed and bare-footed, that they must always, when they went

out, have with them dogs to distinguish them and that they should supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, serve as guides and spies, and be trustworthy and honest. The story is certainly well founded that Chacha made these rules. They were enforced during his son's time also and even in the time of the Arabs who conquered Sind, for the Chacha-nāma relates that Mohomed Kasim enforced the same conditions. In fact some of these restrictions are still observed. Many tribes of Jats go about bare-headed still. Even in Rajput times, the Jats were not allowed to cover their heads with turbans or to wear red clothes, or to put a crown on the head of their bridegroom, or to put a *nath* in their women's nose. "The Ghatwals obtained success over the Rajputs and removed the obnoxious provisions. They thus are called Mālik and wear red turbans." (Ibbetson's caste in the Panjab p. 130.)

It does not appear that these restrictions were imposed solely because the Jats and Lohanas were troublesome and riotous and committed robberies on the roads as perhaps it might at first sight appear. For the restrictions given above explain at once the meaning of the whole story of this prohibition. It seems that the Jats and the Lohanas claimed to be Kshatriyas and to have all their privileges, *viz.* wearing the sword, riding a horse, having a red turban while the orthodox Hindu population denied these claims. It is easy to surmise, that during the preceding period of Buddhistic supremacy, many castes had thrown away Vedic practices and rites and had thus forfeited their title to be treated as Dvijas or Aryans. Now we have already seen that the Jats were Vaiśyas of Vedic times, and their occupation was agriculture which was not then exclusively the occupation of the Śūdras. The Lohanas appear to have been originally Kshatriyas, but they had during Buddhistic times become peaceful traders. Yet both must have kept up Kshatriya pretensions as every one naturally desires to raise himself up in social position. As Hinduism now gathered strength, Hindu society began to confirm each caste in the status which it held by its

practices. The Jats who were agriculturists and who had lost entire touch with Vedic rites, became Śūdras in public estimation and were confirmed in that position and the Lohanas who now followed trade the profession of Vaiśyas became Vaiśyas in the Hindu view and were therefore confined to that status. Both appear to have practised widow marriage which was repugnant to the orthodox Hindu and the rigid Kshatriyas who did not practise it and this was a further reason in the confirmation of Lohanas as Vaiśyas and the Jats as Śūdras. These two races have still kept up their martial instinct but the historian cannot but observe that the gathering of strength by Hindu orthodoxy led to the demartializing of certain races which had an unfvourable influence on the future course of events.

Strangely enough in spite of this order Chacha married the widow of Agham Lohana much in the same way as he had married the widow of Sāhasī for political reasons. The power of Chacha was now firmly established and he ruled Sind successfully for several years. When he died we cannot well determine. Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712 A. D. and Dahar the successor of Chacha the Brahmin king of Sind, so the Chacha-nāma relates, had ruled 33 years. It may be said therefore that Dahar came to the throne in 679 A. D. If we take Chandra, Chacha's brother between Chacha and Dahar for 7 years as the Chacha-nāma relates, Chacha may be taken to have died in 672 A. D. after a rule of about 22 years.

As Chacha left sons behind him it does not seem probable that Chandra ruled for 7 years after Chacha as the Chacha-nāma states. Perhaps Dahar was a minor and hence Chandra's rule for a brief period. Chandra is said to have become a monk or Buddhist. Probably the Buddhists were yet powerful in Brāhmanābad where he resided. After him or when Dahar came to majority Dahar became the king in 679 A.D. Dahar certainly ruled in Alor the capital of Sind and Brāhamanābad the subordinate kingdom was in charge of Daharsia, Dahar's brother

(it is probably a mistake that the latter is supposed to be an elder brother). There was some rivalry or dispute between them and their quarrel about the marriage of Bai their sister and the stories of the sagacity of Budhiman minister of Dabar in saving him from the attempts on his life by Daharsia we omit as rathar unhistorical. What we are certain of is that Dahar was a strong ruler* and his brother and his kinsmen including sons of Chandra were in charge of subordinate provinces or states. Whether Dahar was a son of Chacha by Sahasi's widow as the Chacha-nāma states can not definetely be determined. Dahar, Daharsia and Bai are said in the Chacha-nāma to be her children, but the same work states further on that Bai was Chacha's daughter by a Jat woman. It seems probable that Chacha as usual with Indian kings had several wives, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Jat or Vaiśya and Śūdra *i. e.* the queen of Sāhasi. Dahar was probably his son by a Brahmin or Kshatriya wife. For Dahar was treated as a Brahmin by the Brahmins of his time as the Chacha-nāma distinctly states. Whether Dahar is one of the 36 orthodox Rajput families, as Tod relates we will discuss in our second volume and will now proceed to describe the destruction of Dahar and the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, an epoch making event in the history of India.

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* We may believe the story of an invasion of Sind by Kanauj incited by Matta of Siwistān who after his defeat by Chacha had taken refuge with the Kanauj king. They were both Buddhists. Chacha had given a daughter in marriage to the Kashmir king and her son together with Sahiras king of Kanauj and Rasil his brother invaded Sind but Dahar defeated them by a stratagem. The details are of course not very historical and Sahiras of Kanauj is unquestionably Sriharsha whose name still rang in India when the Arabs conquered Sind. But since Harsha had long lain in rest in Dahar's time it must have been some other king if an invasion of Sind by Kanauj did take place in Dahar's regime. The Chacha-nāma also speaks of an invasion by a king of Ramal which in Arabic means sand and this may have been a Bhati king of the desert, that is, what Bahavalpur or Jaisalmere now are.

CHAPTER II

CONQUEST OF SIND BY THE ARABS

Like the nose of the alligator Sind is the most vulnerable part of India being exposed to foreign attack. The back of the country is covered by the Himalayan mountain chain and is therefore like the back of the alligator impossible to assail. The head of the country and its forehead too are protected by the Hindukush and the Suleiman ranges and are therefore practically unassailable. It is lower down where the river Indus falls into the sea that there is no natural obstacle in the path of a foreign invader. This nose of India is doubtless approachable through a sandy desert country without much water but to those who are accustomed to traverse deserts on camels and mules, Sind is easily accessible and hence it is that it has frequently fallen a prey to foreign invaders in the history of ancient India.

But though frequently thus attacked and conquered by the Persians before the period of which we treat the Indians of Sind as frequently asserted themselves and gained back their independence. The dynasty which Chacha subverted had ruled in Sind for about 150 years and Chacha and Dahar had ruled for about 60 years. The conquest of the country by the Arabs in Dahar's time, however, proved permanent and from 712 A. D. down to our day (with the apparent exception of a few years) Sind has remained under foreign subjection. We will, therefore, describe the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in detail and see what causes operated towards that eventually permanent enslavement of the country which overtook Sind at the beginning of the 8th century and the rest of the country at the end of the 12th. Many details are fortunately available in the Chacha-nāma an almost contemporary account for this event.

The Arabs, it is said in the Chacha-nāma, made several abortive attempts during the reign of several Khalifas to conquer Sind but when they had fully conquered Irān and had thus a nearer and a stonger base for their operations they made really earnest efforts to subjugate the country. A good pretext soon offered itself. Some ships conveying Mahomedan male and female pilgrims from Serendib or Ceylon (it is strange that the Arabs had already by this time taken their religion to Ceylon probably directly by sea from Arabia) with many valuable presents in jewels and pearls from the king of Ceylon to the Khalifa Walid who ruled in Baghdad, by way of the Persian gulf were compelled by adverse winds to go to Debal a seaport town of Sind situated on the western bank of the Indus. The Indus delta was then infested by robbers as even Hiuen Tsang has described. They were very bad men according to him though nominally Buddhists. These men attacked these ships, conveyed the treasure to Debal and imprisoned the Mahomedan men and women pilgrims. The authorities of the town ought not to have countenanced this act, but probably they had their due share in the spoils and so perhaps Dahar himself to whom a complaint was formally made on the subject by Hajjaj the governor of Irān. Dahar is said to have replied "That is the work of a band of robbers than whom none is more powerful. They do not even care for us." This was certainly not a fair reply for a powerful king to make and Hajjaj easily induced the Khālifa Walid to declare a holy war against Sind promising him in spoils twice the amount of money he would spend on an expedition for the conquest of Hind and Sind as the Arabs styled it.

Great preparations were made at Kufa the capital of Irān by Hajjaj who placed the expedition under the command of his nephew and son-in-law Mahomed Kasim, an upright true Mahomedan and a discreet energetic commander. 6000 men of good family from Sham (Syria) joined the expedition. There were battering rams and catapults also taken to assail fortified towns and these were put on board ships near Shiraz from whence they went

by sea to Debal, while Mahomed Kasim marched by land through Mekran towards the same town. The army arrived fist at Arman. Bela and from thence proceeded to Debal where it was joined by the ships. The whole army with battering rams and catapults now encamped before the fortified town of Debal and soon invested it. Hajjaj kept up constant communication by means of swift runners (on camels) with the expedition and minutely directed and supervised its operations.

Dahar seems to have done nothing to save Debal. There was a band of 500 Arabs under one Alāfi in Dahar's service, Alāfi having fled from his country in consequence of a murder committed by him. The Chacha-nāma states that Dahar consulted Alāfi who said that Mahomed Kasim was invincible and thereupon Dahar kept quiet. But probably Dahar thought the place strong as it had withstood attacks by previous Arab expeditions. This present expedition was however more serious than others that had preceded it and Debal fell before the conquering Kasim. One incident of the attack and capture requires to be noted. There was a high temple with a higher flag in the town and people said there was a talisman in it. So long as the tower and flag stood, Debal would not fall. Mahomed Kasim had that temple's tower and its flag-mast thrown down by the charge of the Khālīfa's catapult an engine worked by 500 men and thus the city fell. Talismans and magic were believed in both by the Arabs and the Buddhists in those days and the magical absurdities related in the Arabian Nights of the day of Haroun-al-Rashid Khālifa of Baghdad are well known. The historian may set magic aside, but he cannot but remark that improved weapons of warfare are an important factor in the success of armies. The Arabs were skilful in the use of catapults which then were what cannons are now and catapults and and battering rams were not much known to the Indians. Their subjugation by the Arabs may therefore particularly be attributed to better weapons of destruction possessed by the Arabs.

The conquerors gave the first lessons of terrible Mahomedan warfare to the Hindus and Buddhists of Debal. For they massacred all the male population of the town. The people stood aghast and prayed for mercy; but Mahomed Kasim said he had no orders to show mercy: probably he wanted to make an example by inflicting a terrible lesson. When Mahomed Kasim came to the temple whose tower had been thrown down, he found "700 beautiful females under the protection of Buddha who were of course made slaves." The temple was probably a Buddhist female Vihāra. Debal was mostly Buddhist. The Governor was also a Buddhist and called in the Chacha-nāma Jahin Budh. He escaped, and joined Jaisiah son of Dahar who was then at Nerūn Mahomed Kasim had already granted pardon to certain persons who had promised to show the imprisoned Mahomedan male and female prisoners. These men were spared on bringing out the prisoners and also a Hindu officer who had charge of them for having treated them kindly during their confinement. What a great difference between the cruel treatment of prisoners by Mahomedans and their kind treatment by Buddhists !!! That officer, however, had to become a Mahomedan. The town was of course pillaged and the valuable plunder was divided into five parts one of which was sent to Hajjaj for the Khalifa as the government's share "according to the religious law" and the rest were shared between the commander and the soldiers according to fixed rules. In this manner the Arabs strove for conquests all the more for it was thus the self-interest of the government, the commander and each soldier to conquer. This procedure had its own share in the causes which may be assigned for the success of the Arabs.

Such was the terrible beginning of the eventual conquest of India by the Mahomedans, Debal being its first victim. The male population was mostl massacred, the town was completely plundered, many willing and unwilling people were converted, and beautiful females

were carried away into captivity. It was a terrible example and when Mahomed Kasim after having arranged for the government of the town proceeded towards Nerūṇ, the next city higher up the Indus, also on the west bank, near modern Hyderabad, the city submitted without fighting. It had indeed shut its gates in the absence of its Samāni or Buddhist governor; and Jaisia, Dahar's son who was there with some force had by Dahar's order crossed the river and gone to Brahmanabad. But the Samāni soon returned, went to Mahomed Kasim's camp and tendered his allegiance. He also gave plentiful supplies to the army. Nerūṇ was therefore spared. Mahomed Kasim entered the town and built a mosque in place of a temple and made arrangements for the government of the place.

In order to leave no unconquered territory behind before he attempted to cross the Indus, Mahomed Kasim led his army towards Siwistān. The Śibis were a warlike people and probably Kshatriyas. The ruler of the fortified town was a cousin of Dahar, named Bachchra (Vatsarāj) son of Chandra. He resolved to fight and closed the gates. But the population was Buddhist. And there was a Samāni party (Buddhist) within. It said to Bachchra "We are a priestly class; our religion is peace. According to our faith, fighting and slaughter are not allowable. You are moreover sitting in a safe place. We are afraid the Arabs will take our place and will deprive us of our life and property. So we advise you to make peace." But Bachchra did not accept their cowardly advice and fought. Mahomed Kasim who brought up his battering rams and catapults up the Indus river in boats to Nerūṇ and from there took them by land to Siwistān now invested the town and fort. The Samāni party in the town sent word to him: "All the people whether agriculturists, artizans, merchants, and others have left Bachchra's side and do not acknowledge allegiance to him." The result was, the town was soon taken and Bachchra finding it difficult to hold the fort, fled with his men at night towards Budhia. Mahomed Kasim entered the fort, plundered the town except the Samāni party and made arrangements for the

due government of the fort and the country. He sent the usual one-fifth of the plunder to Hajjaj and gave the rest to the army. He then moved in pursuit of Bachchra to Budhia where the Arabs had to fight, but eventually all the country to the west of the Indus was reduced to subjection and Kasim came back to Nerūn, without leaving any enemy behind him, to consider the means of crossing the Indus which it must be stated here has in recent times changed its course considerably. For it is now to the west of Hyderabad the modern substitute of Nerūn but in Kasim's days it was to the east of it.

We cannot but pause here to reflect upon the conduct of the Buddhists of Nerūn and Siwistān. Indeed the verdict of history cannot but be that given by Giboon viz. that as Christianity enfeebled the Romans and was one of the causes of Rome's downfall ; so in India the spread and paramountcy of Buddhism was one of the causes of the fall of India's independence. Of course Christianity has not enfeebled the Teutonic races, so has Buddhism not enfeebled the Mongolian races notably the Japanese. But as the tenet of Ahimsā or non-slaughter of living beings, together with the abandonment of animal food took strong root in India and became the supreme article of faith and conduct of the people martial spirit naturally declined. Cruelty has its dark side, but without cruelty there can be no martial spirit. The *Buduhist* Harsha did succeed in establishing a widespread empire by his military achievements, but he was a meat-eater from his childhood though perhaps not to the end of his life. The Guptas who were orthodox Hindus and followers of the religion of animal sacrifice were of course a flesh-eating clan and during their days the middle class, the traders and agriculturists, the Vaiśyas so to speak were also carnivorous and were consequently as martial as the Brahmins above and the Śūdra population below them. It is hence that the Guptas of Magadha and the Vardhanas of Thanesar though Vaiśyas were able to drive away such ferocious foreign invaders as the Kushans and the Huns. But Harsha's Buddhistic zeal and his imperial power succeeded in

abolishing animal-slaughter and animal food from the land. The natural effect of this prohibition, working for nearly half a century, became visible among the middle classes of the country, the orthodox Brahmins and the strong Kshatriyas, however, evading the prohibition as well as the lowest classes. The middle class thus at the beginning of the 8th century was completely emasculated for ever (and it remains so to this day) and thus half nay more than half the population of the country was, when the Arabs came to India, as tame as sheep, only fit to be slaughtered by the ferocious Arabs. The Buddhists as we have seen openly declared that their article of faith was no slaughter and no fighting and we thus find at Nerūṇ and at Siwistān the people divided into two camps; those who did not want to fight and those who did. The former usually consisted of the agriculturists, the merchants and the artizans or the Vaisyas and the quieter portions of the Śūdras, the middle class of the people so to speak. They were both averse to kill and afraid to be killed and they always sided with the Arabs when they found they were strong and likely to be victorious. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, however, fought vigorously. Bachchra and his Thakurs, the Chacha-nāma says, lost their lives " in trying to accomplish their sinful deeds " !!! The turbulent Jats too, though degraded by Chacha to the position of Śūdras fought valiantly. But as one-half of the population was cowardly and even favourable to the Arabs, Sind could not avert its fate. Fortunately at that very time Aryanism (we will not call it full Hinduism yet) or the religion of animal sacrifice revived elsewhere. Buddhism was conquered or driven into the background and the downfall of the rest of India was averted for three centuries more. Sind of course fell a prey to the Arabs and remained a Mahomedan province throughout the succeeding centuries of ndian history.

To return to our story, Mahomed Kasim was encamped on the west bank of the Indus for a long time unable to find a way to cross it. The river was certainly a great

obstacle before him and Dahar was not unmindful of his duty and his opportunity. He made preparations to oppose the Arabs there. He had already called Jaisia his son from the opposite bank to his and now posted him with a strong force to oppose the crossing. He himself came down with a large army from Alor his capital and encamp ed in the open plain at some distance from Jaisiah. He even came down to the bank of the river opposite to the Arabs. He was a strong powerful man and a great archer. The Mahomedan historian himself relates how he strung his strong bow which none else could string and drawing it to its full length shot an arrow accross the river and killed an Arab horseman who also wanted to shoot Dahar from his side. This brave deed testifies to Dahar's strength and fearlessness which were not inferior to those of Poros before him and Prithviraj after him. But the strength and bravery of one man or many Rajput warriors was not of much avail against the bigotted impetuosity of the Arabs aided by defection on the side of the Indians. For here we come to the third cause of India's fall viz. the defection and treachery of its own sons which we proceed to describe as related in this Arab history itself.

Unable to secure boats, with scarcity of provisions in his camp and with sickness too among his men and horses, Mahomed Kasim was in great difficulties. But he was a resolute and a fortunate man. Hajjaj who backed him from Irān was also a resolute and a fortunate man. He sent him 2,000 fresh horses and a contingent of fresh soldiers and he gave him sound advice which is well worth repeating here. He wrote him "there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom: 1st conciliation and alliance, 2nd expenditure of money and generous gifts, 3rd adoption of expedient measures at the time of disagreement and 4th the use of overpowering force, strength and majesty. Try to grant every request made by the princes and please them by giving solemn promises." These four methods are the same as mentioned in Indian books on politics viz. Sāma. Dāna. Bheda and Danda or conciliation, payment, division and punishment. You can conquer an enemy by conci-

liating him or paying him large presents or by creating division in his camp or finally by using force pure and simple. The first two ways were not to be thought of for Dahar was implacable and rich. The other two remained and Mahomed Kasim succeded in finding an opportunity of creating division and defection. There was an island in the course of the river and this Bet was in possession of one Mokah Bassaya. He had probably cause to be dissatisfied with Dahar and he went over by a stratagem to Mahomed Kasim who promised to make him big grants of territory. And Moka Bassaya in all subsequent operations of the Arabs faithfully and zealously assisted Mahomed Kasim. He was in fact the Bibhīshaṇa of the story of the conquest of Sind. He was a Rajput and perhaps even a Brahmin and was conscious apparently of his duty to his country for he is said to have written to Kasim as follows (p. 106 Chachanāma): "The country of Sind is our native country. It is an acquisition of our fathers and grand-fathers and our heritage. There is a consanguinity between us and Rai Dahar. He is also a king over other kings of Hind. It should be our duty therefore to stand by him and co-operate with him. We are also affected by his pleasure and pain and we are partners in the same country. But reason and wisdom suggest and mystic philosophy proves that the country will go out of our hands" and therefore it is wiser for him to surrender to Kasim. Traitors like Moka Bassaya have usually betrayed their country's cause with similar casuistry to save their conscience in the history of India from the king of Taxila in Alexander's days down to the Nāgara minister of Rai Karna of Gujarat in later days and these traitors in whatever country found can never indeed be too much execrated.

Moka Bassaya master of the Bet (Mahomed Kasim promised him the province of Bet as his own estate and passed a written document to that effect with his own signature and seal) not only now supplied provisions to Kasim but assisted him in crossing the river. He furnished him with boats and advised him to cross it at the Bet (island). A bridge of boats was made of length corres-

ponding to the breadth of the river at this place along-side the western bank. When Rai Dāhar heard of the defection of Moka Bassaya he appointed his (Moka's) younger brother Rasil to oppose the Mahomedans in crossing the river. He too was a renegade and also lukewarm though appointed governor of Bet by Dahar. The Arabs were also assisted by many Thakurs and Jats besides Moka who had paid homage to the Arabs and joined them. These were posted at the island or Bet to assist the Arabs in crossing. Fixing one point of the long bridge of boats on the west bank, the Arabs moved the other which under the force of the stream reached the opposite coast. It was immediately made fast there with moorings by intrepid warriors amidst divided opposition by the Indians, Mokah Bassaya and his Jats and Thakurs interfering with the opposers under Rāsil. Thus the Arab army was able to cross the Indus without much difficulty. Jaisiah with his force fought with this army of Arabs on the east bank but was defeated Jaisiah a brave man was unwilling to fly but the driver of his elephant in his loyal solicitude addressed the elephant. " Do you want to escape " " How can that be done " said Jaisiah and the clever intrepid driver drove his elephant against the Arabs who had surrounded him, forced his way out and safely took Jaisiah to his father Dāhar who was glad to see his son safe and sound.

The Arabs having succeeded in crossing the river and in driving away Jaisiah placed there to oppose them, their subsequent victories need not be detailed at length. Dāhar who had left Alor and had come down with his most efficient forces, to the district of Jhim (somewhere to the south of Brāhmanābād) fought a determined battle with the Arabs, resolved like the ancient Kshatriyas to die or conquer. The contest was terrible. Dāhar had according to the Chacha-nāma about 5000 horsemen, 100 elephants and 20,000 foot soldiers with complete armour or coat of mail. Dāhar himself was seated on a furious elephant with a litter lashed to it and an iron coat spread over it. He was armed cap-a-pie and had a tightly strung bow in his hand. Two maid-servants were sitting with him in the

litter, one of them handing him arrows and the other giving him betel leaf. His right was commanded by Jaisiah, his left by his nephew Jahin. His son Daharsia with many chief men of Sind (many names are given here) and all the Jats of the eastern part of the country brought the rear. How many men Mahomed Kasim had is not clear. He had probably 6000 horsemen and they used bows carrying lance also with arrows. He had infantry also and he had the assistance of renegade Indian forces such as those of Moka Bassaya and others,—Thakurs and Jats of the western portion of Sind (to the left of the Indus). But these must not have been considerable. The contest was fierce and determined and lasted from morn to about 4 in the evening when an unfavourable accident happened. The god of battles had decreed the day to the Mahomedans. Dāhar was fighting determinedly with arrows as also with discs (the peculiar Indian weapon called chakra) which was not known to the Arabs and which he threw with such force and aim that "it severed the head of a horse, a horseman or a foot at whosoever it was thrown." But at this time naphtha arrows shot by Arabs set the litter of Dahar's elephant on fire. The Indian battles show usually similar accidents. The commanders strangely enough always ride elephants which give sure targets to assailants. The elephant unable to bear the heat, disobeyed the driver, rushed out of the battle-field towards a lake that was near and plunged himself into the water. The driver as well as Dāhar were thrown down violently. They came or they were rescued out of the water but a party of Arabs assailed them and killed them. The army of Sind when the elephant of the king thus fled out of the battle as usual gave way and dispersed. The rout was soon complete and many were massacred, but a few reached the fort of Raor (not Alor) which was nearest the battlefield. Thus ended the chief battle in this conquest in favour of the Arabs on the 10th day of Ramzan of the 93rd year of the Hezira (712 A. D.).

Enormous plunder fell into the hands of the victor. Elephants, horses, wearing stuffs, cattle etc. were seized,

a fifth part of the value of which was sent to Hajjaj as also the head of Dāhar and the heads of his tributary princes together with their ensigns and royal umbrellas, with a letter of exultation and thanks given by Mahomed Kasim. Among the slaves was a wife of Dāhar and several daughters of princes and Ranas and a niece of Dahar. They were sent further of course to the Khalifa with the exception of Ladi, Dāhar's wife whom Mahomed Kasim ransomed and married according to the usual predilection of conquerors for the wives of conquered princes.

One great incident which happened before this battle requires to be related at length. There were as already stated, 500 Arabs under Alafi in the service of Dāhar and on the eve of battle Dāhar asked them to lead the vanguard in fighting. Alafi said, "Oh king! we are indebted to you for many acts of kindness. But we are musalmins and cannot draw our sword against the army of Islam. If we are killed, we die the death of poluted wretches. If we kill we are responsible for murder and our punishment will be fire of hell." Alafi and his 500 Arabs thus refused to fight against their brethren and correligionists and had to leave the service of Dāhar. It is said they went to Kashmir immediately. Others state they remained behind assisted Jaisiah for a time and when he left Sind and went towards the modern Rajputana then they went to Kashmir. This incident shows the glaring contrast between the conduct of Hindus and Mahomedans on this eventful day. There were Hindus who fought against Hindus in this memorable battle but there were no Mahomedans against Mahomedans. This incident not only illustrates the stern religious earnestness of the early, Arab Mahomedans but their elevated morality also. The 500 Arabs of Dāhar did not act the treacherous part which the Mahomedans of Ramrai of Vijayanagar played in later history at the famous battle of Talikot. The latter showed as if they fought with the Mahomedan enemies of Ramrai but when the proper time came they turned their arms against the Hindus themselves. Alafi could have

done that, but treachery was no part of the Mahomedan religion in his days. It was not a tenet of that religion then that one may without sin be treacherous to an infidel. Christianity in later days preached and practised this debased doctrine and Mahomedans of later history also did the same. But the Arabs of Mahomed Kasim's days kept their promises most scrupulously. To massacre *opposing* Indians and to appropriate their women was their *avowed* creed. But if they promised pardon to any infidel Indians, they never broke their word. Even in religious matters they kept theie promises. The question whether those who had accepted subjection and payment of tribute for freedom of religious worship should be allowed to build their temples and to worship their idols was referred to Hajjaj and even that stern and cruel man said " Since we have accepted their tribute, we must allow them freedom of their own worship." It is clear then that the conquering Arbs of the early days were distinguished not only by religious zeal but high morality and the latter seems to be as much a requisite of success in war as unity and military superiority.

Jaisiah with a few followers escaped from the bloody battlefield and went to Raor. That fort was not thought safe and he went to Brāhmanābād where were the accumulated riches of his father and sufficient forces to oppose the Arabs. Dahar's another queen Bai remained in Raor with 15000 warriors and opposed Kasim who soon invested it with his victorious army. Bai found that " She could not escape the clutches of those chāndālas and cow-eaters" and resolved to burn herself. "She and many Rajput women were of one mind and so they entered a house, set fire to it and soon were burnt to death." This was probably the first immolation of Indian women in its history. The Indians no doubt fought among themselves in former times and even sometimes appropriated the women of the conquered princes as has been stated before. But there was no compulsion in these cases. If they refused to be wives and concubines of the victors they remained only as

servants and were even allowed to go away as Buddhist nuns or other recluses. And there was no loss of religion or of caste. But with the Mahomedan conquerors the case was entirely different. Women were forcibly appropriated by them as wives or as concubines or as slaves and were also forcibly converted. And the eating of cows' flesh and the slaughter of cows were the most abominable things with the Indians. The courage of Indian women had always been exhibited in the long established practice of sati and thus Indian women during Mahomedan times often, nay almost always, made those terrible holocausts of themselves which make the history of the Mahomedan conquest of India hideous and painful. This sacrifice by Bai said to be Dāhar's step-sister and wife and other Rajput women was thus probably the first of its kind in Indian history.

Raor was taken and plundered. The fighting people were massacred and the women enslaved. Altogether there were, it is said in the Chacha-nāma, 60000 slaves including many beautiful women of princely families. These were like the plunder, divided between the government and the soldiers. From thence Kasim went to Brāhmanābad, capturing two towns and forts on the way, Bahror and Dahlila. Jaisiah not finding it safe even at Brāhmaṇābād left it with many followers and took his position in the desert, deciding to harass Kasim's forces during investment of the city. It was well prepared for the siege and withstood it for six months. There were about 40 thousand fighting men in the city and they made frequent sallies fighting with determination from sunrise to sunset. Jaisia also harassed the Arabs from behind. In this way Mahomed Kasim was sorely troubled, but Moka Bassaya came to his relief. He gave him accurate information about Jaisiah and asked a force to be sent against him. Jaisia was finally defeated (much like Indrajit of Rāvaṇa defeated by Bibhīshana's aid) and he betook himself to Chitore. The fate of Brāhmaṇābād was now sealed. It fell in the usual way. The merchants and other non-fight-

ing people threw themselves on the mercy of Mahomed Kasim and opened the gates. The city was immediately taken possession of, the merchants were spared, the warriors were slaughtered and the city was plundered. Women slaves were captured; among them were two virgin daughters of Dāhar who were sent to the Khalifa along with the fifth royal share of plunder These as is well-known eventually *became the cause of Kasim's downfall and death.*

As Moka Bassaya said, Brāhmanābād was the chief city of Sind and when that was conquered the whole of Sind came into Kasim's possession. He made a long stay there and made arrangements for the administration of the country. One day it is said a thousand Brahmins came before him with shaven heads and beards. On inquiry they said "We are Brahmins; many of us had killed themselves when our Brahmin king Dāhar was killed. We have shaved our heads and beards in token of our loyalty to him." Kasim pardoned them, extolled their conduct and asked them to serve the country as before. They were asked to do the same duties to government as heretofore and were reinstated in their offices. Those who were actual priests were allowed to worship the idols in the temples as before and were allowed even to beg as before "with a copper-bowl collecting corn in it." This description probably applies to the Buddhist monks Kasim even allowed the cultivators to give three out of every hundred Dirhams of revenue to the Brahmins and to pay the rest to *the treasury. This toleration of the religion of the people-* their being permitted to build their temples, to worship, their idols and to pay their priests is in strange contrast with the policy of the Mahomedan conquerors in succeeding centuries. As we have said before, Kasim followed this wise and honourable policy with the consent of Hajjaj who said that on payment of tribute the subjects had a right to worship in their own way. The tribute was fixed at 48 Dirhams on rich men (about 12 rupees in weight of silver), 24 for the middle class and 12 for the poor yearly. As the old revenue administration and even old officers were con-

firmed we may take it that the old system of revenue taxation remained in force and was not changed and taxation increased as in later times. The whole policy of Mahomed Kasim and his superiors was thus generous and truly wise.

But he was not equally generous in his treatment of the Lohanas and the Jats or as it is said here of the Lākhās and Sāmmās. Perhaps policy also dictated that these turbulent and warlike tribes should be kept down rather than relieved of the disabilities imposed upon them by Chacha. Perhaps orthodox Hindu feeling also was against them. Vazir Siyakar, minister of Dāhar (now converted) said that they were compelled by Chacha to wear coarse cloth, to take dogs with them when they went out in order to be distinguished, and not to ride horses or take swords. "If any headman or Rānā was obliged to use a horse, he was to ride without a saddle. If any accident occurred to any traveller, the Jat tribes were called to help; if any one committed theft his children were thrown into flames, that is, burnt. They guided caravans at night." Mahomed Kasim dealt with them exactly in the same way and further directed, following the rule made by Umār about the people of Syria, that "they should entertain a traveller within their limits for one day and if he fell sick for three days."

Mahomed Kasim now turned his attention towards Alor and Multan, the northern chief cities of Sind. He first came to a town called Musthal with a beautiful lake in its vicinity. The inhabitants were all Samānis and Buddhists and these submitted as also the Jats of the surrounding country. They were pardoned and subjected to tribute. Then he came to the country "where the Sammahs lived. They came forward dancing to the music of drums and pipes and said that was their way of receiving a king. He then came to the country of the Sahtas. These came out bareheaded and bare-footed and implored pardon. They were taken under subjection and tribute imposed on them. Taking guides from this place he came befor Alor "the biggest town in the whole of Sind." Tofi

son of Dāhar was there. He still believed that Dāhar was alive and had gone to Hind to bring an army, (a belief like that which prevailed after the battle of Panipat about Sadashivrao Bhau.) The place was invested and the warriors fought valiantly. But Dāhar did not come with any reliefs. As usual the merchants and artizans were not fighters and dreaded being massacred. They sent word to Kasim imploring pardon. Tofi finding the temper of the people changed, sought safety in escape and joined his brother Jaisiah at Chitor. The city fell into the hands of Kasim who spared the merchants and the artizans for Ladi's sake and even the fighters who submitted, slaughtering only those who opposed the Arabs. Hajjaj blamed him for leniency and declared that all fighting people or races should be killed, a practice which was certainly safe for a conqueror but which the great Kasim did not always follow upto this time. He, however, observed it more truly in his conquest of Multan towards which he now turned and which offered him more stubborn resistance.

He first came to Babia on the Beas where Kaksa son of Chandra and thus a nephew of Dāhar, after Dahar's death at the memorable battle of Zhim where he was present, had taken refuge. Kaksa submitted without opposition. He was the most prominent man of his time and was placed in charge of the treasury of the kingdom.* But at Golkondah Kasim was opposed and here the wariors suffered the same fate as at Alor and Brāhmanābād, 4000 men of the military class being killed. Again at Sikkah he was opposed by Bachera Tāki (belonging to the Takshaka tribe of Rajputs of the Panjab). Here for 17 days bloody battles were fought and many noted Arab chiefs fell. Bachera eventually left the fort, crossed the river and went to Multān where Kasim followed him destroying all neighbouring towns. At Multān Kundrai and Bachrai fought with him every day for two months (Kaksha couisn of Dāhar is strangely said here to have despaired of success against the Arabs and to have gone to the king of Kashmir ! Did he leave the Arabs and join the Hindus ?)

Eventually a traitor showed a place where the fortress of Multān could be burrowed under and thus enabled the Arabs to gain it. 6000 warriors were put to the sword and merchants, agriculturists and artizans as usual were spared. But a heavy tribute was exacted from them. 60000 Dirhams in silver were collected by the nobility and gentry and were given to the soldiers. Kasim demanded more tribute for the Khalifa. In this extremity a Brahmin showed a temple where in the midst of a beautiful pond was a golden image in a small chamber placed on copper vessels full of gold coins: "The idol was perfectly like a man with two rubies in its eyes. It weighed 230 maunds of gold and 40 copper jars under it contained 1320 maunds of gold." These were of course seized. Does this refer to the idol of the sun for which Multān was so famous as described by Hiuen Tsang? It looks like it but Al-Beruni has stated that Mahomed Kasim conquered Multān but left the idol of the sun intact; but Jahan-Ibn-Shaiban broke the idol and killed the priest. But this must have been later on. Alberuni also describes the idol as a wooden one covered with a red coat of leather though that idol too had two rubies for its eyes. Perhaps there might have been two idols one immoveable and the other moveable made of gold to be carried in processions.

The whole of this plunder was to be sent to Hajjaj but that religous man wrote "You have already paid 120000 dirhams and over *i. e.*, twice the sum expended on your expedition and you can now build mosques for the faithful." Accordingly Mahomed Kasim laid the foundations of splendid mosques at Multān. He made this city his place of residence as it was a strong place on the frontier. He had 50,000 horsemen with him for its protection. He is said to have conquered the country as far as the boundary of Kashmir as settled by Chacha by the planting of fir trees and he himself planted some more there. He also sent a message to Rai Harichandar of Kanauj, asking him to bend his neck to the yoke of Islam. Rai Harichandar replied "This kingdom has been in our possession

for 1600 years and no enemy has ever set foot in our territory. When the strength of both sides is tested on the field of battle then we shall decide," Mahomed Kasim decided to make war against Kanauj which he said was proud of its men and elephants and asked his followers to be ready. But the fates had decided otherwise. The tide of Mahomedan conquest was to stop here for three hundred years more. Next morning a camelman came post-haste from the Khalifa bearing a letter containing a command to Kasim "to put himself, wherever he might be, in raw leather immediately and come back to the Khalifa." Mahomed's stern religious sense of duty to the Khalifa as the spiritual and temporal lord of Islam was so strong that he there and then asked his men to put him into a fresh hide. The box was immediately sent to Baghdad where on its being opened by the Khalifa the corpse of this famous conqueror of Sind was taken out. Thus did the two daughters of Dāhar take revenge upon the man who had killed their father and doomed them to their sad fate. The story is undeniably true, for this end of the famous Arab conqueror of Sind could not have been fabricated. But this event together with the previous history shows clearly one fact viz. that the Arab empire in its early days was singularly strong in consequence of unity, discipline and strong religious conviction.

CHAPTER III

SIND DOWN TO THE END OF THE 12th CENTURY.

Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712 A. D. and remained under their sway for full three centuries until its conquest by Mahumd of Ghazni in 1025 A. D. The Khalifas of Baghdad were the distant masters and they ruled Sind through their governors. These governors resided at Multān and there were subordinate governors in the minor towns on the Indus. The local officers in every district were no doubt Hindus, Brahmins and Rajputs. The Buddhists naturally declined as the government was not theirs. There were remnants for a long time of ancient Rajput princely families which are given by Tuhfal-ul-Kiram as follows in the reign of Aram Shah king of Delhi. (History of Sind by Mirza Kalich Baig Vol. II, p. 28.)

1. Rana Bhanar Sahta Rathor in Darbelah.
2. Rana Sinyar Sammah of Tong in Ropah.
3. Jesar Machhi Solangi of Maniktarah.
4. Wakhia Son of Punhun, Chanon at Dara Siwi.
5. Chanon Chana at Bhagnahi.
6. Jiya of Jhim *i. e.* Himah Kot.
7. Jasodhan Agra of Men Takar in Bhanbhor (Brāhmaṇābād)

We find here many noted Rajput names such as Samma, Sahta, Rathor, Solunki etc. but we do not find the name of Dāhar in the above. The family of Dāhar appears to have left Sind altogether and lived subsequently in Rajputana, the Panjab and Kashmir. The towns noted in Sind Hindu history still survived such as Alor, Brāhmaṇābād, Jhim (Hydrabad), Sehwan but during Mahomedan times, new towns became of note such as Ucha, Bakkar and Thatta. The last especially supplanted Debal on the sea-coast and the latter is not found mentioned hereafter at all. It must be noted that during the reign of Haroun-Al-Rashid or before, about 780 A. D. Sind was visited by a

great earthquake which destroyed Brāhmanābād and Alor and other old towns and which changed the course of the Indus also for it flows now to the west of Nerun where-as in Hindu times it flowed to the east of it. It may therefore be said that even nature changed the face of the country. Many people were converted to Mahomedanism including some princes. But the population generally remained Hindu. Mahomedan saints, however, attracted now the public attention and gaze and naturally supplanted the Buddhistic monks. Noted saints have still their holy places and mosques in Multan and other towns which are revered both by Hindus and Mahomedans. The early religious zeal and sincerity of the Arabs was undoubtedly remarkable and Sheikh and Sayyad saints could not but be attributed as great Ajmat or spiritual power as the Buddhist.

It is strange that the Arabs did not much try to extend their conquests. Probably as has been said, the rest of India was now stronger having revived its Aryan spirit. Perhaps the Khalifas themselves declined and became luxrurious. The Ummiya Khalifas reigned only till 754 when the Abbassadies drove them out. These reigned from 753 down to 1025 A D. Kadir Billa the Khalifa in Mahmud of Ghazni's days gave shelter to Ferdusi whose story is well known, he having incurred Mahmud's displeasure by writing a satire on Mahmud's illiberality. Mahmud demanded Ferdusi from Kadir Billa, but the latter declined to surrender him and Mahmud thereon conquered Multān in revenge and sent his vazier Abdur-razak to conquer Sind in 1025 A. D. In the course of one year Sind was conquered and lost to the Arabs finally. Thus was Sind returned to Indian history over a quarrel between patrons of learned men-not a bad lot. Sind remained part of Mahmud's Empire or kingdom down to about 1200 A. D. when Muhammad Ghori conquered India and after him when Kutubuddin became independent king, Sind became a part of the Turkish Mahomedan Indian Empire, at the beginning of which our history ceases.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHAHIS OF KABUL

(This history is chiefly taken from Raverty's Afghanistan wherein he has collected together very many material statements with dates from Arab historians about Kabul. I have also compared with this information such information as is derivable from Hiuen Tsang and the Rājataraṅgiṇī and also Cunningham's "Coins of Mediæval India." It is unfortunate that no detailed account is possible but such facts as are known are very interesting especially a statement of Alberuni as given below).

Kabul has always been in ancient history a part of India. In the Vedas the river Kubhā and Kramu are mentioned along with the five rivers of the Panjab and form what is called the Sapta Sindhu of Vedic as also of Avestic literature. Kubhā is the river of Kabul and Kramu is the modern Kurrum both names being derived from these ancient Vedic names. The Gāndhāras of the Upnishads are the people who inhabited the level region to the west of the Indus and east of the hills. But Kabul which extended up to the Hindu Kush, a significant name, seems to have been separate from Gāndhāra, the capital of which was Purushapura or modern Peshawar.

In ancient Persian history Rustam (the Persian Bhīma) is said to have married a daughter of the king of Kabul and also an historical Persian Emperor married another king's daughter. Persian Empire often included Kābul and Zābul (modern Ghazni) and adjourning territory upto the Indus. The people of Kābul and its king were thus undoubtedly Aryans and had marriage relations with the Iranian Aryans as well as with the Indo-Aryans. Ethnologically the Afghans are shown by Risley as Turko-Iranians *i. e.* Aryans mixed with Turkish blood. But they are certainly mainly Aryans though their own beliefs in modern days point to a different origin. They claim descent from a Jewish ancestor a belief which can be easily explained. It is a remarkable fact observable even in

the Panjab that Indo-Aryans when converted to Mahomedanism turn by the stronger influence of religious zeal from the east to the west for the tradition of their descent. Many Rajputs, therefore, who plainly by appearance, customs and history are none but Indian Kshatriyas claim descent from members of the family of the Arabian prophet and thus pose as true Sayyads. The Afghans similarly, since their conversion, look for descent among the ancestors of the Arabs in the mythological history of Ebrahim and Musa (Abraham and Moses). But they are unquestionably Aryans by ethnology and by history. During the invasion of the Greeks too we find they are treated as Aryans and Indians. The country from Haraivati (Saras vati) a name of the Persians is called Arachosia and Archosia is said by Isidorus to be also called by the Parthians "White India" (p. 319 Ancient India by Plotemy McCrindle). Kabul is not mentioned by Greek writers; perhaps it was not then important. But Kabul was treated as India by later Persians and also Arabs as appears from their maps. "In the map given in Masatch or Mamātch, the Hirmand (Helmund) is styled the river of Hind and Sind *i. e.*, its western boundary and east of it was Hind and Sind and Kabul was a province of Hind". Thus it continued to be down to its conquest by the Turks (p. 62 Raverty) about 1020 A. D.

We know very little of the ancient history of Kabul and we are in fact not concerned with it in our work. At the commencement of our history *i. e.* about the beginning of the 7th century A. D. it was certainly governed by a Kshatriya king who was a Buddhist. Hiuen Tsang who visited it in 630 A. D. (see his itirinery Appendix p. 563 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India) states so and further adds that Lampāk, Nagar, (Jallalabad) and Gāndhāra were subject to it. It was thus an extensive kingdom. Its king undoubtedly bore the title of Shah, a title which it must have borrowed from the Persians under whose empire this country frequently was. The king was thus a Buddhist, a Kshatriya and a Shah, a combination

of three traditions and civilisations viz. Chinese, Indian and Persian. This title Shah of the Kabul king is frequently mentioned both by the Arabs and the Rājataranginī as we shall notice further on. The subjects of these kingdoms were generally Buddhists though in Lampāka and Gāndhāra, the majority were of the Hindu faith (Hiuen Tsang). The inhabitants of Lampāka, the Chinese traveller states, were ignorant and ugly and thus do not appear to be fair Aryans like the rest of the Aryans whose fair complexion, not blackened by the fierce heat of the Indian plains but rather preserved by the cold climate of the land, had given the country the title of "White India." What race the people belonged to and what family of Kshatriyas the kings claimed to be born in is not yet traceable. The Arab writers who hereafter came into contact with Kabul call the king Kabul Shah Zantbil which Raverty says may have been really Ranapāl, the Persian letters r and j and *b and p being undistinguishable. It is indeed impossible* to guess what this name really was though some support may be found for this guess in the references in the Taranginī, very meagre though they are. The Arab historical references are continuous from 640 A. D. down to the Turkish conquest about the 11th century. It is probable that during these three hundred years or more there must have been more than one dynasty. But the Arabs use the same word Kabul Shah Zantbil throughout.

The Arabs conquered Mekran in 640 A. D. and Herat in 650 A. D. and thus came to the frontiers of Kabul. Their first invasion of the country was however in 663 A.D. (43 A. H.) under Abdul Rahman who laid siege to Kabul for one year and eventually took it. As in Sind, the Arabs massacred the warriors, enslaved the women and children and spared the Kabul Shah only on his consenting to be a Mahomedan. The Arabs retired leaving him a king paying tribute. But unlike Sind, Kabul was intractable and the people again asserted their independence. The same Hajjaj Viceroy of Iran who sent Mahomed Kasim to conquer Sind sent one Abeiddulla to again

reduce Kabul. The Shah retired into the mountains much like what the Afghans did in later history and cut off the invader by seizing the passes by which he had followed him into mountainous country. He was reduced to submission by starvation and allowed to return on payment of 7 lakhs of dināras (697 A. D.). The implacable and energetic Hajjaj sent another expedition under Abdul Rahman and Kabul Shah again retired into the mountains (700 A. D.). This time also the expedition failed because Abdul Rahman himself rebelled against the haughty Hajjaj, a conduct which is certainly strange and inconsistent with the strong discipline of the early Arabs (compare the conduct of Kasim). Abdul Rahman made peace with the Kabul Shah. Indeed he was supported by the latter when he was invested by the force of Hajjaj, and rescued Hajjaj died in 713 A. D. and Kabul remained unmolested for several years thereafter. Under the Khalifa Haroun-Al-Rashid in 786 an expedition under Abbas invaded Kabul He seized and plundered a great Vihāra outside Kabul called Shah Bihār, a place still known. It appears the king and the people were still Buddhists. But the Shah and the country escaped subjugation by retiring as usual into the mountains. For two centuries more the kingdom of Kabul and the Hindu Shahi dynasty flourished. Ghazni meanwhile fell and was taken possession of by a Samani dynasty of Arab Mahomedan kings and they conquered Kabul also. But the Hindu dynasty was still allowed to rule in subjection to Ghazni for nearly a century more.

The Turks now began to invade the country and in 934 A. D. took possession of Ghazni under Alf Tegin (these are two words which are often wrongly combined). The Shah of Kabul assisted his suzerain of Samani dynasty to fight against the Turks. Kabul became now independent for a few years. But Sabak Tegin conquered it probably in 975 A. D. and Kabul again became dependent on the Turkish rule at Ghazni and we find a Kabul king (see Alberuni) offering his aid to Sabak Tegin to fight against his enemies. But the kingdom of Kabul could not last

before the growing ambition of Mahmud and after a final terrible conflict (A. D. 1021) as we shall presently relate Kabul was finally conquered by him and completely blotted out as an Aryan kingdom, so much so that not even the memory of Kabul being once a Hindu kingdom remains. The people were forcibly converted. Alberuni mentions an interesting story of this conversion (Vol. II p. 157). The Ispahadad (governor) of Kabul consented to be a Mahomedan on two conditions viz: that he would not eat cow's flesh and that he would not follow another repugnant practice! The people, however, were soon so completely changed in sentiment that they too soon forgot not only these conditions but the very fact that they were once Indian Aryans.

We now go on to notice the few important glimpses which we get of the Shahi kings from the Rājataranginī. King Śankaravarman who ruled between 884 and 902 A. D. conquered the Shahi king Lalliya and seized the kingdom when Lalliya fled from it and took refuge with Ālakhāna Gurjara. This must have been in the time of the Samani Mahomedan kings of Ghazni who were overlords of Kabul, as stated above, about that time. Then again Prabhākaradeva after Śankaravarman's death during the regency of his widow, queen Sugandha for her minor son Gopālavarman is said to have conquered the Shahi kingdom* (it must have rebelled against Kashmir sovereignty) and placed on the throne Toramāna son of Lalliya. § This indicates that for some time Kabul was under the direct government of Kashmir during the period 884-904 A. D. Thereafter we read that a grand daughter of a Shahi king and a daughter of a king named Sinharāja of Lohara, by name Diddā was married to Kshemagupta king of Kashmir who reigned from 26 to 34 Laukika era (Rāj. VI, 187) i. e. between 951 to 959 A. D. This Shahi king's name is available as he built in Kashmir in honour of his grand daughter a temple of Vishnu called by his own name Bhimakeśava. ‡ The

* उद्भाण्डपुरे तेन शाहिराज्यं व्यर्जयित 232 पं.

§ अशातिक्रामिणः शाहेः कृत्वा कमलुकाभिधाम् । तोरमाणाय सम्राड्राज्यं लल्लियसूनवे V. 233.

‡ मातामहेन भूभर्तुर्भीमशाहिरकारयत् । श्रीभीमशाहिनोदारप्रासादो भीमकेशवः ॥ VII, 78.

name of the king was thus apparently Bhimashah and he was a Vaishṇava and not a Buddhist. It shows how in the tenth century Buddhism in India was generally dead and was changed into Vaishṇavism by Buddha being admitted into the Indian godhead as an Avatāra of Vishṇu as we shall have to show later on.

Lastly we have a graphic description of the fall of Kabul in the 7th Taranga or chapter of the Rājataranginī. It was in the reign of Sangrāma who succeeded. Anantadeva and who was a member of the Lohara royal family, that Trilochanapāla, Shah of Kabul, implored the aid of Kashmir against the Turks (under Mahmud). Sangrāma sent Tunga a famous minister with a large army. He was advised by Trilochana to follow the usual Kabul tactics of retiring into and taking support of the mountainous country But Tunga declined the advice and fought a battle in the plains. A terrible conflict took place between Hamir (Amir) of the Turks and the combined army of Kashmir and Kabul. Several Kashmir chiefs named in the Rājataranginī distinguished themselves and fell in the battle and Trilochanpāla only retired when the struggle became hopeless. There was frightful massacre then of the remainder of the army and the kingdom of Kabul was finally lost to the Hindus. The patriotic poet-historian could not but shed a tear over the final fall of Kabul. "The very name of the splendour of Shahi kings has vanished. What is not seen in dream, what even our imagination cannot conceive that destiny accomplishes with ease" (VII 67). The complete separation of Kabul from India has however to be attributed to the forcible conversion of the whole populace a measure which Mahomedans did not adopt beyond the Indus. The reason of this we shall have to discuss later on.

Trilochanpāla sought shelter in foreign countries never to return. His sons are again mentioned in Kashmir history as refugees in Kashmir and as receiving splendid allowances from the state. Their names are Rudrapāla and others. Even in Kashmir the family appears to have

finally been extinguished, These family names ending in Pāla give support to the theory that the Arabic name Zantabil might have originated in Ranapāla, a possible ancestor of one of the kings of the Shahi family of Kabul finally overthrown by the Turks. This was probably not the same family of Kshatriyas as Hieun Tsang saw in 630 A. D. Sangrāma ruled Kashmir from 1003-28 A. D. and the fall of Kabul during his reign must have been somewhere about 1010 or 1021 in which year Alberuni places it.

Sir V. Smith observes in his history, " During his reign (Śankaravarman's 883-902 A. D.) the last of the Turki Shahi kings, desendants of Kanishka was overthrown by the Brahmin Lalliya (p. 373 V. S. 3rd Edn.) Lalliya undoubtedly founded a dynasty but the dynasty he supplanted was not a Turki dynasty founded by Kanishka. (The Pālas appear to be the descendants of Toramāna son of Lalliya. They seem to be Brahmins from the Rājatarangini also, but their daughters were indiscriminately given. One grand daughter Diddā was married to Kshemagupta ; another was married to Tunga's son, and another to the Lohara king). For the Kshatriya dynasty noticed by Hiuen Tsang was not descended from Kanishka as Sir V. Smith holds. The Kanishka family no doubt reigned in Gāndhāra at Purushapura or Peshawar where his famous Stūpa existed for a long time. But this family was overthrown already in Hiuen Tsang's time as mentioned by him, Gāndhāra being stated by him as reduced to subjection by the Kshatriya king of Kabul. It may be surmised that this Kshatriya dynasty of Kabul terminated sometime before 883 and a Brahmin dynasty came into its place of which Lalliya was probably the founder and which had marriage relations with Kashmir kings. We will discuss the question whether the dynasty overthrown by Lalliya was Turki as Alberuni thinks or Kshatriya as Hiuen Tsang describes in a separate note.

Lastly, we have to collate the information derivable from coins information which, though in the absence of dates it is often imperfect, is so far as it goes unchalenge-

able. Cunningham gives this informatton in his valuable work "Coins in Mediæval India" and formulates some theories also two of which are in our opinion not tenable. One great fact which appears from the so-called Gāndhāra coins is that the king is called Spalapati on the coins. Now Cunningham explains that Spalapati in Persian means war-lord and is the equivalent of Sanskrit Samarapati. Kallar the Brahmin minister who according to Alberuni (see note) seized the throne like Chacha must therefore have been the commander of forces and his Persian title (as the king's also was Shah) was Spalapati which he may well have retained afterwards. This Kallar may be equated with Lalliya of the Rājataranginī, Lalliya being the correct word and Kallar being misread for it in Arabic letters or Lalliya (Prakrit of this is the modern Lālā) was his favourite nickname. The coins of Spalapati Deva have a humped bull with Śiva's trident on them on one side and a horseman on the other with lance in the right hand. Now this type of coin remained long current in Kabul and even the Panjab and was so far popular that even Mahmud (and after him Mahamad Gori) issued similar coins with the name of Mahmud in Sanskrit above the horseman.

The coins found belong to and mention kings Spalapati Deva, Sāmanta Deva, Kharmarayaka and Bhīmadeva and these coins are assigned by Cunningham properly enough to Kallara, Sāmanta, Kamalu, and Bhima, mentioned in succession by Alberuni in the Brahmin dynasty. We may also add that in the Taranginī we find the names of Lalliya for the first, Kamaluka for the third (alias Toramāṇa) and Bhīma. No coins are found of Jaipala, Ānandapala and Trilochanapāla. Cunningham surmises that these Pālas formed a different dynasty and belonged to the old Turkish Rajput dynasty supplanted by Lalliya. But this would be against the evidence of Alberuni who living about the same time as Trilochanapāla must certainly have known the fact. He calls them all of the same Brahmin dynasty. Deva is certainly indicative of

a Brahmin; but it may mean king also. And as we have said before, Brahmin kingly dynasties of those days by marriage with Kshātriya princesses became in time Kshatriyas to all practical purposes. The name-ending Pāla is not therefore strange and need not indicate a second dynasty. A third guess made by Cunningham from the Jhūsi copperplate is also not well founded. For this grant inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII) on inspection will show that it does not belong to Trilochanpāla of Kabul at all. There the *Shahi* dynasty is not mentioned. The copperplate again has been found at Allahabad and belongs to that province. The father of Trilochana is further given as Rājyapāla and the grand father Vijayapāla. It grants a village *near Allahabad probably* to all Brahmins at Pratisthāna, a thing which Trilochana of Kabul could scarcely do. And lastly the grant is dated 1027 A. D. when Trilochana was no longer a king and when probably he was not even alive. This Trilochana of the Jhūsi grant is plainly and entirely a different person, the names Pāla and Trilochana being very common all over Northern India. We do not think the Shahi dynasty as kingly dynasty survived Trilochana as it was extinguished with him in about 1021 A. D.

NOTE

WAS THE FIRST SHAHI DYNASTY OF KABUL, TURKI IN ORIGIN?

Sir V. Smith observes at page 373-4 of his Early history of India (3rd Edn.) under Kashmir "during his (Sankarwarma's) reign, the last of the Turki Shahiya kings, the descendants of Kanishka, was overthrown by the Brahmin Lalliya. The Turki Shahiya kings had ruled in Kabul until the capture of that city by the Arab general Yakub-i-Lais in A. D. 870." We have already shown that the last dynasty overthrown by Mahmud of Ghazni at Kabul was a Brahmin dynasty, the mention of whose king Trilochanpāla has already come in Kashmir history. We have here to inquire: was the first dynasty Turki in origin and descended from Kanishka? Smith's observations are plainly based on Alberuni as interpreted by Stein in his Rājataranginī, Note I. Vol. II p. 336 "Shahi of Udabhānda." Let us first see what Alberuni states (Vol. II, p. 10 trans, by Sachau).

"The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin. The first of them Barahatakin came into the country and entered a cave. (Here is given a strange legend which we omit). He became a king under the title of Shahiya of Kabul. The rule remained in his family for 60 generations. *Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to historical order of things, and they are very careless in relating the chronological order of their kings etc., and when pressed for information they not knowing what to say, invariably take to tale-telling.* One of this dynasty was Kanik (another strange story is here given of Kanishka of theBuddhists and we omit his history). The last king of this race was Lagaturman and his Vazier was Kallar a Brahmin. Lagaturman had bad manners and worse behaviour and people complained of him. So the Vazier put him in chains and occupied the royal throne. After him ruled Brahmin kings named Samand, Kamalu, Bhim, Jaipal, Anandpal and Tarojanpal. The latter was killed in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021) and his son Bhīmpāla 5 years later." We cannot finish this quotation without giving a few further observations of Alberuni in which he like Kalhaṇa sheds a tear over the downfall of the Brahmin kings of Kabul.

"The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is extinct and of the whole house there is not the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing. I admire the following passage in the letter of Ānandapāla which he wrote to Prince Mahmud. "I learned the Turks have rebelled against you. If you wish I shall come to you or send my son with

500 horse, 1000 soldiers and 100 elephants. I have been conquered by you and therefore wish that another man should not conquer you". The true Rājput valourous and generous character appears here plain. Destiny was adverse and the Kabul Shahi Brahmin dynasty was extirpated as we shall have to relate later on.

To return, we are concerned here with the question was the first dynasty which the Brahmin minister supplanted Turki in origin? Alberuni's information is plainly based on vulgar tradition which he himself remarked was clearly absurd. Now Hiuen Tsang distinctly says that the king of Kabul was a Kshatriya (this was in 630 A.D.). Hiuen Tsang knew well enough what a Turk was for he had come to Kabul through their country and he knew the difference between a Turk and a Kshatriya. As against the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang, therefore, an absurd tradition related by Alberuni after 400 years and with evident reluctance and disbelief in it cannot be taken for history. And we can very easily show the absurdity of the tradition. Firstly, a dynasty cannot last in history for 60 generations or 1200 years. Secondly, Kanishka may have been a Turk but he lived nearly a thousand or 900 years before Alberuni. His descendants cannot have ruled in Kabul so long. We know that Kanishka ruled not in Kabul but in Peshawar or Purushapura of Gāndhāra. Thirdly, history tells that after Kanishka several incursions of foreigners occurred notably that of the Huns under Mihirakula. If any descendants of Kanishka had remained, they must have been swept off by the Huns. The Huns themselves were overthrown in India and in Persia and hence we believe that in 630 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited Kabul there was an Aryan Kshatriya king ruling there. The kings called themselves Shahis because they copied the title from the Persians as the most powerful of their neighbours. After 630 A. D. down to Mahmud's time, the Turan people, Turks or Huns, did not invade India as we know it from history and Kabul had a tranquil rule for about 400 years. They were no doubt threatened by the Arabs in the beginning; but the internal dissensions of the Arabs soon stopped their progress beyond Sind. In short we do not believe there was any Turki dynasty of Kanik ruling in Kabul in 630 A. D. Kabul according to Hiuen Tsang had just conquered Gāndhāra where some Huna king must have been supplanted. Udabhāndapura so frequently mentioned in Kashmir history was hence under Kabul. Stein has rightly identified this town with Wahind of the Mahomedan historians. The Prakrit of Udabhānda would be properly (da being dropped and bha being changed to ha) Uahind; but it does not appear that Kabul was given up and the latter made their capital by the Brahmin Shāhi kings.

We, however, obtain some information of the Brahmin dynasty which supplanted the Kshatriya dynasty of Hiuen Tsang from Alberuni, information which being near his time is more reliable. The supplanting of an effete declining dynanty by a Brahmin minister is an ordinary

event in Indian history (we have the example of Chacha of Sind and others), and the taking of Kabul by Yakub Saffavi about A. D. 878 must have assisted this event as stated above. Alberuni mentions six kings as noted in the margin, and their dates may be taken approximately as in the margin, at the average rate of 20 years for each king. Now we have the mention of three of these kings in Kashmir history with definite dates. These practically tally with their probable dates here given. First going backwards Sangrāmarāja assisted Trilochanpāla in his last

1 Kallar	...	880—900 A. D.
2 Sāmanta	...	900—920 "
3 Kamalu	...	920—940 "
4 Bhīma	...	940—960 "
5 Jayapāla	...	960—980 "
6 Ānandapāla	...	980-1000 "
7 Trilochanapāla uprooted by Mahmud of Ghazni	...	1000-1021 "

Secondly, Bhīma-struggle with Mahmud. This Sangrāma died in 1828. Kshemagupta pāla's grand-daughter the notorious Diddā was marri... to ... and Bhīma himself erected a temple in Kash... to ...mmemorate his name. Kshemagupta died in 958 A. D. Bhīma c... n certainly be his contemporary. Thirdly and lastly, Śankaravarman is said to have conquered Lalliya Shahi king. This Śankaravarman came to the throne of Kashmir in 885 A. D. and died in 902. His conquest of Lalliya was about the beginning of his reign. From the above Lalliya may be taken to have seized the kingdom of Kabul in 880 A. D. Śankarvarman very soon after this must have uprooted him. The verses in the Taranginī are here somewhat obscure and I take them differently from Stein's Trans. (V. 15-5). It seems to me that Lalliya took refuge with Ālakhāna king of the Gurjaras of the Panjab. And Kashmir retained possession of Kabul for some time. It was restored after Śankaravarman's death by Prabhākaradeva minister of Śankara's widow, Sugandhā, to Toramāṇa son of Lalliya. This happened after Lalliya's death which equally with that of Śankara took place about 902 A.D. Alberuni gives the second king as Sāmanta. Now this word Sāmanta indicates that he was more a subordinate than independent king and as we have shown elsewhere Kabul remained subordinate to Kashmir for some time. The Kabul Aryans however in ancient as in modern times were greatly addicted to independence, for even the Arab historians say that "the people loved their own king and recognised none who was not crowned in Kabul." The people therefore rebelled after Śankaravarman's death during his son's minority and the minister Prabhākardeva went and conquered them but like the English in later Kabul history thought it prudent to give the kingdom back to Toramāṇa son of Lalliya. From the Rājataranginī ślokas it appears that this king was given another name Kamaluka (see the verse already quoted). Thus we have every corroboration of Alberuni from Kalhaṇa and the first three Brahmin kings were 1 Lalliya 2 Sāmanta (some relative of Lalliya) and 3 Kamaluka (originally called Toramāṇa). Coins of all the three have also been found as shown in the body of the look.

CHAPTER V

THE KARKOTAKAS OF KASHMÎR.

(For the history of Kashmir we have, as for Sind, a reliable history, not indeed written by outsiders, but by a native historian in Sanskrit. Kalhana wrote the well-known Rājataranginī in Śaka 1070 or A. D. 1148. He mentions in the introduction many previous authors on the same subject as Suvrati, Kshemendra, Nīlamata, Chhavillākara and Helarāja. Unfortunately their works are unavailable at present probably because the Rājataranginī supplanted them, But as Kalhaṇa has given up their versions in several places it would have been most useful for us to see what their version was and how far that version corresponds with other facts and with modern views. However, regret is of no avail and we have to rely upon Kalhaṇa unless it is impossible to do so. Stein who has studied the work most carefully opines that Kalhaṇa's history from our period onward is reliable. Kalhaṇa says he has got his statements verified by grants, inscriptions and other records. He appears to have been a state officer himself. We may, therefore, safely follow him assisted by Hiuen Tsang, Chacha-nāma and such historical data as may elsewhere be available.)

We know from Kalhaṇa that the mediæval period of Indian history actually commenced in Kashmir in the very beginning of the 7th century A. D. by the establishment of a new dynasty of kings. The ancient mythical Gonardīya dynasty came to end in Laukika era 3677. This era commenced 25 or 26 years after Kaliyuga which in the opinion of all begins in 3101 B. C. Thus the Laukika era which obtained in Kashmir down to Kalhaṇa's days begins with 3075 B. C. This Gonardīya ancient dynansty accordingly ended in (3677–3075) 602 A. D. The last king Bālāditya had no son, nor probably any other male heir. In order to preserve the kingdom in his own line through a female, he gave his sole daughter in marriage, not as usual to a king ruling elsewhere in India but to an officer of his own named Durlabhavardhana. After the death of Bālāditya, Durlabhavardhana ascended the throne in 602 A. D. His dynasty is called the Karkotaka dynasty, inasmuch as it was protected by the mythical serpant

Karkotaka mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Probably of obscure origin, Durlabhavardhana allowed court poets to create the myth of his descent from the Karkotaka serpent. Or perhaps he was born in a Nāga or aboriginal family and hence this natural myth. Whatever the explanation, this belief did obtain in his time as Hiuen Tsang also notices it and says that the kings of Kashmir crowed over other kings, because they were protected by a dragon. The Taranginī represents Durlabhavardhana as a Kāyastha. It is difficult to believe that Bālāditya would condescend to give his daughter to a Kāyastha. He was probably a local chief of Nāga descent and his name-ending, Vardhana, clearly indicates that he was a Vaiśya and and not a Kāyastha and a supplier of grass to the state cavalry. He was certainly a discreet and careful man and governed his kingdom successfully for 36 years. He founded a line of kings capable and energetic, called by the name of the Karkota dynasty which according to the Taranginī ruled for 254 years i. e. from 602 to 856 A. D. through 17 kings.

It may be noted here that the kings of this line were, like the Vardhanas of Thanesar, worshippers of Śiva. That was the usual worship among the Hindus at that time. They were also in addition worshippers of Vishnu and Āditya. The Buddhistic religion had already fallen into disfavour in Kashmir. The days of Meghavāhana were long gone by. Slaughter of animals was no longer prohibited by the state nor "were the butchers by profession compensated for their loss of work by grants from the state treasury" as in his days. The penalty of the profession of a religion of non-slaughter had already been paid dearly by Kashmir when the Huns under Mihirakula had enslaved the people for a time. Pravarasena a remnant of the Gonardiya line had established Hindu sovereignty again in Kashmir with Śiva worship about a hundred years or so before Durlabhavardhana. The kings of this dynasty were therefore powerful owing to the revival of the orthodox sacrificial religion. They built temples chiefly to Śiva and

often to Vishnu and to Āditya which are mentioned in detail in each reign by Kalhaṇa but which we may pass over as not being of much importance to the general history of India.

Hiuen Tsang visited the country in the reign of this king and notices the downfall or rather decline of his religion in Kashmir. There were still many monasteries then and the Chinese traveller resided in one of them while in Kashmir. Vihāras are doubtless often mentioned by Kalhana as built by queens of the Karkota dynasty. But these were probably not Buddhist Vihāras, though the name sounds Buddhistic. Śaivas and Vaishnavas also had Vihāras of their own in which their Sanyāsis or recluses dwelt as is evidenced by Hiuen Tsang himself. It seems therefore that Buddhism was not only not the state religion during this dynasty but also was not much professed by the people. The kings and even the queens were rigidly othodox and were devoted to Śiva or Vishnu or Āditya. The religion of pure sacrifice also flourished but apparently the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas had fallen into desuetude. For none of the powerful kings of this dynasty performed the much-honoured Aśvamedha performed by ancient Kashmir kings and even by kings of the Gupta line. Probably Hindu orthodox sentiment had changed. For the non-performance of Aśvamedha even in the case of Lalitāditya who made a digvijaya throughout India like Samudra Gupta as we shall have to relate further on, cannot be explained on the ground that the Karkota kings were not Kshatriyas. The Guptas indeed were most probably not Kshatriyas but Vaiśyas and yet they performed the Asvamedha. Surely the Brahmins of Lalitāditya would have found ways to enable him to perform a horse sacrifice if he had wished it But it seems general sentiment amongst the orthodox Hindus had by this time set in against the more horrid animal sacrifices of the Vedic ritual and thus the Buddhistic religion professed by Kashmir so long had by that time triumphed at least in Kashmir and put a period to these bloody sacrifices.

The people of Kashmir appear to have been, in the lower strata, aboriginies, They were called Dāmaras a name which still survives. The upper layers of the population were the three Aryan castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas with the mixed castes Kāyasthas and others. The Brahmins were of course ministers of religion as also the conservers of learning sacred and profane, i. e. Vaidikas and Pandits, but they were also generally as a class, government servants even as now. From the ministers downwards to the revenue collectors and accountants the public servants were Brahmins in Kashmir as in Sind where as we have already seen in the last chapter even Mahomed Kasim had to retain their services for revenue administration. The ministers were indeed usually Brahmins (as in Sind and elsewhere, witness Chacha himself). The Kshatriyas were usually in the military service but the same was open to Brahmins and to Vaiśyas also like the warlike Guptas. Unlike Sind and the, Panjab, however, agriculture was in the hands of the Śūdras or the aboriginal Dāmaras. In Sind and the Panjab the Jats and the Gujars were the true Vaiśyas of the Aryan ancient social arrangement. the persons in charge of kṛishi and gorakshyā of the Bhagavadgita. The Panjab was par excellence the land of the Aryans and Sind followed it closely. Kashmir was half non-Aryan. We have already described the Kashmir Aryans as they appeared to Hiuen Tsang in those days. viz: handsome, learned, yet deceitful.

Having described the social and religious condition of Kashmir at this time we may return to its political condition in the 7th century A. D. A new dynasty, as usual strong, energetic and as yet not depraved had begun to rule. Durlabhavardhana appears to have extended the sway of the kingdom, chiefly by conquering smaller kingdoms in the Panjab such as Taxilā (which Hiuen Tsang expressly declares to have come under Kashmir), Sinhapura and Uraśa. Various hill states such as Punach and Rajaouri are also mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as under the rule of

Kashmir. The sub-montane part of the Panjab down to the Salt Range was thus reduced to subjection by Durlabhavardhana. The modern Panjab in its east and south parts only was under a separate line of kings by the name of Tekka but the rest was either under Kashmir or under Sind, the boundaries of which, as the Chacha-nāma relates, were then conterminous. Harsha was the Emperor of Northern India at this time and he is said to have defeated Kashmir, which perhaps nominally acknowledged his supremacy. Bāṇa says Harsha exacted trilute while Hiuen Tsang relates that Harsha obtained by force a valuable relic viz. a tooth of Buddha which was triumphantly conveyed to Kanauj. Durlabhavardhana not a Buddhist himself was probably not very averse to part with that precious relic.

Durlabhavardhana died in 637 A. D. having ruled for 36 years. He was succeeded by *Durlabhaka* or the younger Durlabha. As grandson of the old dynasty king Bālāditya, he assumed the name of Pratāpāditya. He is said to have reigned for 50 years which coming after a long reign is not quite probable, He was a most meritorious king and many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people are related by Kalhaṇa. He established a Maṭha called *Nona Maṭha* for Brahmins of the Rohitaka country. When he built the temple of Tribhuvana Svāmi a shoemaker refused to give up his hut which stood in the way of the building. Durlabhaka declined to oust him by force whereon the tanner, moved by the king's high sense of justice, delivered up the land of his own free will. His queen Prakāśadevi built a Vihāra. called Prakaśikā Vihāra, perhaps a Buddhist monastery. She was a Vaiśya lady and Vaiśyas have throughout Indian history usually shown a predilection for the religion of mercy and non-slaughter, that is to say Buddhism and Jainism as we shall see further on. The king's guru by name Mihiradatta (a Brahmin) built a temple to Śiva (Vishṇu probably) by name Gambhira Svāmi. We mention these temples as typical of the practice of these

kings, their queens and their ministers to build temples to their favourite deities. Thus the king enjoyed a long rule endeared to his people by his religiousness and justice.

Durlabhaka had three sons, Chandrāpīda, Tarāpīda and Muktāpīda. Perhaps Bāṇa's Kadambarī had already become popular and names ending in Āpīda had begun to be liked by kings. Chandrāpīda succeeded his father necessarily at an advanced age and reigned for 8 years and 8 months only. He was like his father a very good ruler but his ambitious brother Tārāpīda had him killed by Abhīchāra or magic, belief in which in those days was universal. Perhaps Chandrāpīda died of some sudden illness and people attributed it to the incantations of his base brother Tārāpīda. The latter next ruled but for a short time only viz. 4 years and one month, less by six days (such exact statements show that we are entering upon history based on records). Cruel and tyrannical as he was, he fell a prey to his own instrument and some one of his oppressed subjects had *him* also killed by incantations or Abhichāra. He was succeeded by the third and youngest son of Durlabhaka named Muktāpīda alias Lalitāditya who turned out to be, if not the most, one of the most illustrious kings of Kashmir.

The most attractive greatness of a king has always been his extensive conquests. Universal dominion has been the constant ambition of capable rulers in past and present history. What Cæsar and Augustus desired, what Charlemagne fought for, what Charles V and Louis XIV attempted, what Napoleon aspired to and what the last German Emperor Kaiser William III has sacrificed millions of lives for, is the same goal of universal dominion. It has attracted in all times graet sovereigns in the East and in India, like Aśoka and Samudragupta, Akbar and Auranzeb. The vivid example of Samudragupta was before Lalitāditya and of Harsha also. The Rājataranginī describes in detail the *digvijaya* of Lalitāditya i. e. his conquest of the four quarters, East, South, West and North an achievement which is not much remembered nor much;

described by modern historians. Perhaps like the panegyric of Yaśodharman of Mandsaur, famous in ancient Indian history, by his court poet who recorded a glowing description of his greatness on his Jayastambha, this description in the Rājataraṅgiṇī may at first appear fulsome and imaginary. But we have found a *peculiarly strange confirmation of this event in the Chacha-nāma*, a contemporary foreign account of the conquest of Sind. In a letter addressed by Dāhar to Mahomed Kasim (p. 87) occurs the following passage: "If I had sent against you the king of Kashmir, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees, and against whom no human being can stand etc." This passage occurring so unexpectedly and without necessity and without any temptation for addition or interpolation is of great value as corroborating the account given in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of the extensive conquests of Lalitāditya. His achievements are therefore historical and stand on a par with those of Samudragupta and Harsha, and we will without hesitation, place them before readers of ancient Indian history, on the combined testimony of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Chacha-nāma.

The above quoted passage occurs in the Chacha-nāma in a letter written in 712 A. D. The conquests of Lalitāditya must therefore be placed a few years only before this, as they appear to be fresh in Dāhar's mind. They must have occupied Lalitāditya for half a dozen years at least. The date assigned by Kalhaṇa to his accession is therefore correct and reliable. Durlabha ruled for 36 years, Durlabhaka for 50, Chandrāpīda 8, and Tārāpīda 4. Thus Muktāpīda alias Lalitāditya came to the throne in 602 + 36 + 50 + 8 + 4 = 700 A. D. which is not at all inconsistent. Like Harsha and others Lalitāditya must have started immediately after accession on his world-conquering expedition. Of course he had at his back the resources of

a large kingdom well-governed for 100 years besides his own valour and engrossing ambition. His first enemy was Yaśovarman of Kanauj who as we shall relate in the history of Kanauj had at this time attained to nearly the sovereignty of the whole of Northern India by his conquest of the king of Gauda or Bengal. The conflict consequently between Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman was severe; but Lalitāditya was victorious and Yaśovarman fled the field of battle or as the poetical historian relates served the rising and resplendent sun with his back. It is not quite clear whether Yaśovarman was deprived of his kingdom. For in one verse Kalhaṇa says that Yaśovarman was totally uprooted (samūlam udapātayat) but in another following verse he says that Yaśovarman who had such famous court poets as Vākpatiraya and Bhavabhūti, himself turned a court poet of Lalitāditya. The services of Mitra-Śarma, Peace and War Minister of Kashmir were duly rewarded by his being made a prince entitled to the five royal instruments of sounding (pancha-mahā-śabdabhāk). He also obtained the title of Shah, a Persian title about which we shall speak later on. He also appointed five new officers with the same title Shah for his new imperial concerns, viz. the great Chamberlain Mahā Pratihāra, the great foreign minister Mahā Sāndhivigrahika, the great cavalry commander Mahāśvaśāla, the great treasurer Mahābhāndāgāra and the great commissariat minister Mahāsādhanika. It appears that Lalitāditya's chief arm of offence was cavalry and not the elephant force as with Harsha, and naturally enough, for the countries of Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkestan supply more horses than elephants. But he had elephants also no doubt and he is said by Kalhana to have compelled the Gauda king to give him his whole elephant force for his further progress.

Who this Gauda king was whom he next conquered the Taranginī does not tell us nor the name of the king of Kalinga nor of the king of Karnāta, nor of the Kaveri region, nor of the seven Konkanas, nor of Saurāshtra or Dvārakā, nor of Avanti or Malwa which countries he

meant the conquering of Tibet and Turkestan, an apparently difficult task. He is said to have conquered the Daradas and Kambojas (Tibet) which was easy enough, but he conquered the Turks also and their king Mummuni is said to have been thrice defeated. This is perhaps the first and the last mention in Indian history of an Indian king going out of India into the country of the fierce and warlike barbarians of Turan. But there is no doubt of the truth of this conquest or rather success in battle. For we have not only the mention of Mummuni their king but the extract above given from the Chacha-nāma also states that the king of Kashmir had conquered *Mekran* (Baluchistan) and *Turan* (Turkestan). India has always been conquered by hordes coming from Turan but this singular exploit of Lalitāditya in going out of India and conquering Turan deserves a prominent record in the mediæval history of the country. Turan seems to have offered stubborn resistance and Mummuni had to be thrice vanquished. In fact, Lalitāditya subsequently led many expeditions to the north of Kashmir and is said to have even crossed the Gobi desert. And he is said to have lost his life eventually in these regions, historians of Kashmir did not know how. Of northern barbarians Tukkharas and Bhauttas are mentioned. Prāgjyotishapura and Strīrājya are also mentioned probably to fill up the usual Mahābhārata story (they are evidently Assam and Burma or Manipur). And the mythical Uttarakurus finally come in to finish his Digvijaya. The partial poet declares in the end that in order to emphasise his conquest of the north and the south, Lalitāditya compelled the Turushkas in the north to half shave their heads and to hold up their hands in token of their being prisoners and he compelled the Dākshinātyas of the south (the Deccanese) to wear long kachhas reaching the ground like tails in token of their being beasts !!!. It is really wonderful how poets represent already existing local customs as contributing to the praise of their favourite king. It seems however certain that the practice of half shaving their heads is very old among the Turks and

did not originate with Mahomedanism. And the practice of having long kachha among the Deccanese (Marathas) is also very ancient, Northerners putting on tight kachha (the Kashmiris too doing the same). The modern practice of wearing payajamas prevalent in Kashmir is not thus as old as Kalhaṇa but is of still recent date being borrowed, very clearly, from the Mahomedans

The internal administration of Lalitāditya was also remarkable. From his foreign conquests immense wealth and treasure came into Kashmir and it was naturally spent on the building of temples and Vihāras. He gave 11 crores of golden money to the temple of Bhūteśa (Śiva). He built a Mārtanda temple (Sun) with a great uncut stone-wall which is still famous. He built a bridge over the Vitastā at Chhatrapur. He built a town outside Srinagar and at some distance and called it Parihāsapura and built there a famous temple to Vishnu called Parihāsa Keshava where he placed a Garuda image on a one-stone pillar 54 cubits long. Many gold and silver images of Vishṇu, Varāha etc. are also spoken of. The Parihāsa Keshava image was of silver adorned with valuable jewels. Gold and jewels began thus to accumulate in temples, a necessary evil of idol worship, an evil which in consequence created a counter religion of idol-breaking and the jewelled golden idols of India added the temptation of greed to the promptings of religious zeal among the Mahomedans. We shall have to speak of this strange infatuation of kings and grandees to stuff temples with immense portable riches in gold and silver and in diamonds and rubies. The practice was older than Lalitāditya, but here we have a sure mention of it, Kalhaṇa observing that "the wealth offered and dedicated in temples could not be counted". The queens also as usual built temples to their favourite deities. Chankuṇa, a Tukkhar minister gave two magical stones to the king and purchased from him an idol of Buddha which had been brought from his conquest of Magadha. He placed it in a Vihāra which he dedicated to the Buddhists. It seems clear from this as is

also otherwise well-known that before Mahomedanism, Buddhism was the prevailing religion among Turks, Tukkhars and other barbarians of Turan.

These temples to Śiva, Vishṇu, Āditya and Buddha of course satisfied the religious cravings of those times. To the modern historian it is interesting to note that Lalitāditya had many halls established in his kingdom for the feeding of the hungry and for giving water to the thirsty. These chhatras and prapās testify to his humane disposition and his care for his subjects. He is also said to have excavated wells and springs in the northern sandy regions of the Turks where for many miles water is often unobtainable. These, the historian says are still visible and supply water to the thirsty traveller of these inhospitable regions. Thus Lalitāditya appears to have been a true Kritayuga or golden age king in the otherwise not very happy history of Kashmir.

But there is one bad act of this famous king which Kalhaṇa says was prompted by the Kali or iron age. He had the Gauda king killed in spite of his promise not to harm his life given on oath of his favourite god Parihāsa Keshava of his favourite town. Who this Gauda king was and why Lalitāditya did this horrible deed so unlike himself, Kalhaṇa does not describe. He however relates that when the most loyal servants of the Gauda king heard of this slaughter, they started at once for Kashmir and having got entrance to the kidgdom on pretext of visiting the Śāradā temple they came to Parihāsapura. The king was fortunately absent on an expedition to the north. The exasperated men in their mad zeal went to the temple of Parihāsa Keshava to take vengeance on the god who had allowed his oath to be broken. Finding the temple of Rāmasvāmi* open they mistook that god for Parihāsakeshava threw down the silver idol, broke it into pieces and even atoms and strew them on the road as they went back.

* This idol was believed to have been made by Rāma himself and was found in a tank. The names of idols in Kashmir often end in Svāmi which means of course "Lord" Lord of Rāma and so on.

Such is the strange story of the slaughter of the Gauda king and the religious frenzy of his loyal servants

The end of this wonderful king was alike wonderful. Where and when he died is not known to Kashmir historians. He certainly did not die in Kashmir. A messenger arrived from his camp somewhere among the Northern barbarians announcing that the king could not return and that the ministers should proclaim his son king. He is said to have ruled for 36 years and thus his reign came to end in 736 A. D Comparing this account with the account derivable from foreign sources as related by Smith we may say that an embassy from China in 733 A. D. may have been received. investing Lalitāditya with the title of king. Of couse it must be taken subject to Chinese misrepresentation in that the Chinese Emperor was believed to be the ruler of the whole world. Lalitāditya also looked upon himself as Emperor and the embassy must have been nothing more than greetings between rival emperors claiming sovereignty over Turkestan. As for the date of his victory over Yaśovarman, Smith on the authority of Levi and Chauvanes places it in 740 A. D. But this does not seem to be correct. It is against the authority of the Taranginī which places his death in 736 and also against the evidence of the Chacha-nāma which seems clearly to place this victory before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 712 A. D. This date will be further discussed in a note.

Lalitāditya was succeeded by his son Kuvalayāpīda a very sensitive man. When a minister disobeyed his order he was so incensed that he passed a sleepless night, but reflecting in the morning in the opposite strain he resigned sovereignty as full of difficulties and disquiet and retired to a forest. He ruled for one year only and 15 days. He was succeeded by his brother Vajrāditya a man of an exactly opposite temperament. He immediately threw himself headlong into the pleasures of kingly power and naturally succumbed after a bad reign of 7 years and some days. He was succeeded by his elder

son Sangrāmapīda who too died after a short reign of 7 years. His brother Jayāpīda and a grandson of Lalitāditya now came to the throne of Kashmir. His goodness and greatness had already been marked and foretold by his grandfather and we come to the reign of another brilliant king as illustrious as Lalitāditya and only next to him in foreign conquests.

Jayāpīda like his grandfather commenced his reign by issuing out for world conquest a favourite game with powerful Indian kings. His first enemy was of course the king of Kanauj name not mentioned. Conquering him he proceeded as far as Prayāga where he made liberal gifts to Brahmins. His army, however, afraid of long journeys into the south as in the days of Lalitāditya, returned to its native country. Nothing daunted Jayāpīda is said to have gone into Bengal single-handed. He came to Paundra Vardhana town ruled by one Jayanta Having killed a tiger which had become a terror to the town he came to the notice of Jayanta who gave him his daughter Kamalādevi in marriage. This story sounds more as fable than as history. Jayāpīda then subdued five Gauda princes in Bengal in behalf of his father-in-law and then returned in triumph to Kashmir with his bride. On his way back he seized the precious throne of Kanauj and took it to Kashmir. In his absence his brother-in-law, one called Jajja, had seized the Kashmir throne. Jajja was overthrown and killed in a battle and the country was proud and glad to be again under the rule of its rightful king Jayāpīda.

But Jayāpīda became more famous than his grandfather Lalitāditya as a patron of letters. He himself was a great pandit; and the poet historian says that he was as jealous of a rival in the field of arms as in the field of letters. He revived the study of the Mahābhāshya (the great work on grammar by Patanjali) and appointed Kshirasvāmi as teacher of grammar. The head of the council of pandits was Udbhata the well-known author of Udbhatālankāra on poetics and paid him as pay one lakh of Dīnāras per day (most certainly a hyperbole of the poet

historian even if like Mahmud of Ghazni Jayāpīda gave copper Dīnāras instead of silver or gold ones). Other famous literary names are Manoratha, Śankhadanta, Chātaka and Sandhimān poets, Vāmana (writer on both grammar and Alankāra), Damodargupta author of Kuttinimata (mathematics) and Thakkiya who was originally superintendent of granary in the service of a minister of his. The best men in the whole land of India were called and patronised by Jayāpīda, so much so that Kashmir became famous as the land of learning and as the poet historian remarks, there was a famine of learned men in other countries of India. Though a conqueror he assumed the title of Vinayāditya or the sun of education. The poet historian observes, "Equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only, but made hundred fold."

He renewed his foreign expeditions many times, accompanied by many subordinate kings among whom is mentioned strangely enough Mummuni. But in Nepal he had a reverse unlike his grandfather and fell a prisoner into the hands of the king of Nepal, named Artundi. In this misfortune he was saved by his minister who brought another army into Nepal and by a stratagem enabling Jayāpīda to escape from the castle where he was imprisoned, by the sacrifice of his own life placed him in possession of new forces. Nepal was defeated and Jayāpīda returned triumphant to Kashmir, mourning, however, for the death of his faithful minister Devaśarmā son of Mitrasarmā the famous minister of his grandfather.

It is unfortunate that this valiant and learned king became in his later days a tyrant and an oppressor of Brahmins. Perhaps his misfortunes in spite of his victories left him poor. It is said that a *serpent* having promised to reveal to him a mountain of gold revealed in the end, owing to his mistake, only a mountain of copper situated in the Kramarājya (a province of Kashmir) and he had 99 crores of copper dīnāras struck. But he had a

dirth of gold and for the sake of gold he began to oppress his subjects through his Kāyastha officers. We must speak here of the Kāyasthas, a caste to whom Kalhana always refers with contempt and disapprobation. The Kāyasthas are found in the history of Kashmir onward, always assisting oppressive kings with their bad counsel and are generally associated with a rapacious administration. Kāyasthas did not meet us in the history of Sind. They are in fact (even now) not found in large numbers either in Sind or in the Panjab, where their place is taken by the Khatris who like the Kayasthas were the competitors of Brahmins in the ranks of government servants. Even now Kāyasthas are to be found predominant in Kashmir, in the U. P. and in Bengal both in the population and in government service. They are not found to the south of the Nerbuda except in the Konkan. In the Deccan and in the south they are not to be seen. Undoubtedly the Kāyastha claim to Kshatriya origin is correct though there is admittedly a mixture of blood. The mixed caste of Kāyasthas is not mentioned in the earlier Smritis and finds mention only in one or two later ones. They are mixed Kshatriyas whose caste occupation is writing and government service as we find even in the Mrichhakatika. By intelligence and energy they are undoubtedly Aryans and Kshatriyas. But strangely enough Kāyastha public servants are, though efficient, generally unpopular and oppressive. In the Panjab, government service is almost monopolised by Khatris. They are clearly Kshatriyas who have given up the sword for the pen and their intelligence as certainly indicates their Aryan origin as their physique, but they are not specially mentioned in ancient history like the Kāyasthas. To return to our history from this digression: Jayāpīda through his Kāyastha officers began to oppress his subjects by various exactions. He was opposed by the Brahmins who are usually a fearless out-spoken people (सर्वकालं ब्राह्मणानामहो धैर्यमकुण्ठितम्। निस्त्रिंशस्य बभूवुर्ये तस्यापि परिपन्थिनः॥) Jayāpīda now became unpopular even among the pandits who at once turned their wit against him. The following verses are typical and well worth quotation. They are of

course based on pun of words. Jayāpida who prided himself upon his learning is said to be not inferior to Pāṇini the grammarian. "नितान्तकृतकृत्यस्य गुणवृद्धिविधायिनः । श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥ कृतविप्रोपसर्गस्य भूतनिग्रहविधायिनः । श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥." The king, however, was incorrigible and ill-treated and despised the Brahmins the more till at last by the curse of a Brahmin, so the poet relates, the golden pole of his tent fell upon him and he died of the wound received. He is said to have ruled for 31 years. Thus his reign may be said to have ended in 736+1+7+7+31=782 A. D. the kings intervening between him and Lalitāditya ruling for one, seven and seven years only.

We may close this chapter with a short account of the remaining kings of the Karkota dynasty which coming to a decline was now represented by incompetent men. The same spectacle of worthless sovereigns set up and deposed by ambitious and unscrupulous officers as is witnessed at the end of Mogul or Abbaside Khalifa or other kingly dynasties appears. Lalitāpida son of Jayāpida ruled for 12 years and squandered the riches unjustly amassed by his father on courtezans and sycophants. His brother Sangrāmāpida ruled after him for seven years and was succeeded by a minor king named Chippata (the lesser) Jayāpida son of Lalitāpida son of the elder Jayāpida. His maternal uncles Utpala and Mamma ministers fought for power. Now Utpala to secure power in his own hands set up another minor Ajitāpida in place of the now major Jayāpida while Mamma set up another. The two ministers fought a battle between themselves and Utpala was successful. The last minor king hereafter set up was Anangāpida who was eventually set aside by Avantivarman grandson of the powerful Utpala and he founded the Utpala dynasty in about 855 A. D.

Kashmir during the reign of the Karkota dynasty enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of Northern India. Within the empire it had several provinces or rather districts of the Panjab under it and the territory of Kashmir itself is shown to be divided

into several divisions called Rājyas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (Kramarājya, Maḍavarājya etc. appear to be divisions of Kashmir). The kings were usually worshippers of Śiva and also often of Vishṇu (Vishṇu temples being styled by names ending in Svāmi and Śiva temples in Īśa or Īśvara—a distinction which is clearly apparent in the Rājataraṅgiṇī). The people were both Śaivites and Vaishnavites but there were also some who were Buddhists, especially among lower orders and foreigners. Under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning and many noted names in Sanskrit literature belong to this period. We can thus understand why it was an ambition with Indian pandits to conquer the pandits of Kashmir as is apparent from Sankara's visit to the temple of Śāradā in that country to which we shall have to refer in our next volume.

CHAPTER

II LATER HISTORY OF KASHMIR

Though not connected with the period treated of in this volume, we shall go on to relate succintly the later history of Kashmir down to the end of the Hindu period, as Kashmir in the next portions of that period seems to be practically cut off from India. This history has not much importance for the general history of India, but it has an importance of its own. It exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly government always tends to abuse after a period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debaucherous kings succeed highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how while kingly power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for some time able ministers under the firm guidance of able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bribery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organised army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the *de facto* master of the state raising to the throne puppet after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are as fully exhibited in this history of Kashmir as they were at Rome or at Baghdad, at Delhi or at Cairo. We will, therefore, describe this history in some detail and show how after all, a form of government combined of king and people is the best for securing continuous good government and progress.

When the Karkota dynasty came to an end, as usual by becoming old and rotten, Avantivarman came to the throne by his own power and founded the Utpala dynasty, Utpala being his grandfather and the first minister of the tottering Karkotakas who tried to seize the kingly status. Avantivarman as usual with founders of dynasties was a most capable and conscientious sovereign. Tales of his extreme sense of justice are related in the Tarangini, which we may pass over. But his revenue administration was equally most successful. With the help of an able and imaginative minister named Suyya, he excecuted various works of irrigation by damming the Vitastā and other rivers of Kashmir. Hundreds of new villages sprang into existence and thousands of acres of land came under cultivation. The poet historian relates that whereas from the most ancient times a Khāri (Khandi) of grain (rice) sold in the most prosperous days for 200 dīnāras, the same Khāri in the same Kashmir land began to be sold for 36 dīnāras (V. 117).

The king was highly religious and of course built several temples to Śiva and Vishṇu and so also his ministers and queens. But he was also so liberal to the Brahmins and held riches of so little count that he finally gave away all his wealth to Brahmins except as the poet says his sceptre and umbrella. He also appears to have been a perfect Vaishṇava and an upholder of the tenet of Ahimsā (the mantle of Buddhism had in this respect now fallen upon Vaishṇavism). He, therefore, prohibited totally the slaughter of animals and the historian records that for ten years as in the days of Meghavāhana no animal was killed throughout the kingdom (V. 64). The poet remarks that "tortoises leaving the cold waters of rivers in winter securely basked in sun-shine on the banks". Bhatta Kallata it is further on said, and other sages were born in the days of Avantivarman 'for the salvation of the country'. Who this Śrikallata was we have not been able to find; but he must have been some Vaishṇava writer. The king died as religiously as he had lived, hearing during his

last moments the Bhagavadgita recited. (This is the first mention in history of the Bhagvadgita as a book of religious recitation). He died in 59 in the month of Āshādha Shukla 3. This according to Kashmir reckoning which omits hundreds means 3959 Laukika era i. e. deducting 3075, 884 A. D.) V. 123. He thus ruled for 29 years from 855 to 884 A. D.

His son Śankarvarman succeeded him. But it appears there was a faction among the ministers and a party appointed a cousin of his as Yuvaraja. He and his cousin both being strong men, fought for power and many faithful adherents on both sides lost their lives in this civil war. Sankarvarman eventually got the upper hand and ruled singly. He now led his forces in Digvijaya most probably with a view to lead the fighting spirits of the people into other channels. The names of the countries and kings he conquered are important historically. He subjugated a king of Dārvābhisāra and imprisoned a king named Harigana. While yet fighting with the Gurjara king he put to flight Prithvichandra king of Trigarta and gave his kingdom to his son Bhuvanachandra who had already submitted to him. He is said to have 9 lakhs of foot-soldiers and 300 elephants (the infantry number is plainly exaggerated). With this immense force he defeated Ālakhāna king of the Gurjaras (Ālakhāna appears to be the name of a king and not of a place). The Gurjara king handed over to him the Takkadeśa "giving up his own body in fact". He reinstated the descendant of Thakkiya who had been ousted by Bhoja "He lay unconquerable between the Daradas and the Turushkas like the country of Āryāvarta lying between the Himalayas and Vindhyas". He remained firm in Udabhāndapura (perhaps a battle was fought here with the Northerners.) "The Shahi king Lalliya was not reinstated owing to his anger and took refuge with Ālakhāna."

The above account requires to be co-ordinated with the history of other countries and we shall try to do so. Here it may be noted that a gloss in the commentary of Rājata-

raṅginī, says Trigarta meant Nagarakota and Takka country meant अटकीनदीतटे शकरदो नाम and on गूर्जरदेश the remark is लघुगूज्याराटदेशः. These remarks show that Śankaravarman's *Digvijaya* was confined to the countries about Kashmir, to the Gujar king in the Panjab and the Shahi king in Kabul. He conquered the Daradas on the east and the Turushkas on the west and the north only nominally. Who Thakkiya was is not clear but he must have been king of Rājapur overthrown by *Bhoja*, Pratihāra king of Kanauj who ruled about that time. The Shahi king Lalliya seems to have taken refuge with the Gujar king and his country remained under Kashmir not being returned as usual to the subjugated monarch. This was eventually done, for the country seems to have again risen after Śankaravarman's death. His minister Prabhākaradeva suppressed the rebellion but restored the Shahi dynasty by placing Toramāna son of Lalliya on the Shahi throne at Kabul (V, 233.)

Śankaravarman was a valiant king but unlike his father he turned out an oppressor of his people. We will notice the ways of his oppression separately, but the poet says that fifty sons of his died in youth without disease by the curse of his subjects. This is probably an exaggeration as we shall presently see. While returning from an expedition, he encamped in Uraśa (Hazara country) of Hiuen Tsang and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat. The army proceeded on its way back to Kashmir under the guidance of discreet commanders; but Śankaravarman died on the way as the arrow was being extracted. The body was burnt in Kashmir territory and three of his queens, two of his servants and one faithful minister burnt themselves on the same pyre. This fact shows that he was not quite unpopular. It also shows that the practice of servants and ministers, faithful and affectionate, killing themselves on the funeral pyre of kings described by Bāṇa also in Harsha Charita was still prevalent. (In fact it obtains in Japan even at this day.) Śankaravarman died in 77 in Fālguna (V. 222) *i. e.* in 902 A. D. after a rule of 8 years.

Before passing on we may state that this greedy king was not a friend of poets and Bhattata and other learned men followed other professions. Only one poet called Lavata was in the pay of the king.

Sugandhā widowed queen carried on government during the minority of his son Gopālavarman. He died a minor and so too his brother Sankata. The dowager queen now herself ruled with the help of soldiers called Tantris who held somewhat the same position at Śrinagar as the Janizaries did at Constantinople or the Prœtorian Guards at Rome or the Turks at Baghdad or the Marāthas at Delhi. A ten year old prince of a collateral branch was placed on the throne. The exactions of the Tantris were unparallelled. In 93 there was a terrible famine (3993 - 3075 = 918 A. D.) and the *Hundikā* or tribute of the Tantris had to be made up by the ministers by selling young people. "Thus" observes the poet, "the people protected by prosperous kings like Tujjina and Chandrāpida were led to destruction by these demons of ministers." The Tantris now raised another scion of the family by name Chakravarman and the government went from bad to worse owing to the corruption of ministers and the oppression of the Tantris. Chakravarman, however, proved a capable king. In order to get rid of the Tantris he once sought the help of one Sangrāma Dāmara. The Dāmaras were a warlike aboriginal people inhabiting the country and cultivating the land. The Dāmara said that if Chakravarman could assert himself the Tantris were of no account. Accordingly Chakravarman rose against the Tantris, and with the help of the Dāmaras killed or drove them away.

As predicted by Sangrāma Dāmara, however, Chakravarman turned out an oppressor. He oppressed the Dāmaras themselves and led a licentious life. The same misrule continued under his successor Pārtha. The poet observes (V. 439) " The country was plundered by Dāmaras when Chakravarman died and his successor (Pārtha) again oppressed it by raising the wicked Kāyasthas" (government servants). It is unnecessary to describe the many heart-

less acts of this king. He died in the summer of 15 (4015 = 939 A. D.). At the same time one Kamalavardhana leader of Tantris and other disaffected people surrounded the capital and defeating the Dāmaras entered the city. Pārtha's widow fearing misfortune hid herself with her infant son.

Here the poet historian describes a remarkable scene. The tactless Kamalavardhana instead of seizing the throne left vacant asked the Brahmins to elect a king, hoping in his heart that they would elect him. The Brahmins assembled in the Goshālā of the palace and wrangled over the election for five days. "With beards besmeared with the smoke of sacrifices, these Brahmins or bullocks without horns fought among themselves for want of unaninimity. Instead of sprinkling a fit person with the water of sovereignty, they wetted their beards only with their own spit thrown out in wrangling." It is strange that Kalhaṇa, himself a Brahmin, thus rails at these deliberations of Brahmins "who will never be unanimous." That is their great bane throughout their history. But it must be noted here that Brahmins always enjoyed a great power politically and had the election of a king to a vacant throne in their hands. Thus it appears in the Purānas for when Vena the oppressor was killed, the Brahmins created a successor to the kingly power by creating Prithu from his thighs. Whatever the old theory, the election of a king to a vacant throne was this time at least in Kashmir left to the Brahmins. By a sudden freak of fortune, one Yaśaskara, a Brahmin himself, son of Prabhākaradeva, the powerful minister of Sugandhā who had left the country owing to misfortune, accidentally came back at this time and was hailed by the Brahmins as king on the sixth day. Kamalavardhana and the people acquiesced and Yaśaskara was anointed king amisdst public acclamations.

Yaśaskara as usual with the founder of a new dynasty proved a capable, energetic and conscientious king. He of course sent back the Brahmins to their sacrifices and

ruled with regour and scrupulousness. The poet's remarks here are worth quoting: "In his days people slept in their houses with open doors and travellers moved without peril on their paths owing to the destruction of thieves. Villagers were engrossed in cultivation and had no occasion to visit the court and Brahmins remained engrossed in their studies and had no occasion to take up arms. Brahmin sages on pretext of reciting Sāmas did not drink liquor nor did ascetics tend sons, wives, cattle or fields. Nor did religious men with fools for their teachers sacrifice with fish and Apupa or cakes, disputing with their own compositions based on Tarka or guess the principles of Veda. Nor did house-wives, worshipping false 'gurus', with shakes of their heads transgress their husbands. And lastly no astrologer, physician, juryman, teacher, counsellor, preceptor (purohita), herald, judge, and writer was uneducated in his days". This gives a very vivid picture of the social and political condition of the country under good and bad rulers. Yaśaskara, however, had only a short reign of 9 years and he was succeeded by his son Sangrāmadeva in 24 (4024 - 3076 = 948 A. D.) He was a minor and the forces of disorder, oppression and licentiousness soon took possession of the land. Parvagupta, a leader of Ekāngas, Sāmantas, Kāyasthas. and Tantris seized the throne. After a short rule he was succeeded by his son Kshemagupta (either a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya) who married the notorious Diddā daughter of a king of Lohara named Sinharāja and grand-daughter of a Shāhi king of Kabul named Bhīmapāla. This Diddā had a long reign after Kshemgupta who died in 34 (see VI, 187) *i. e.* in 4034 - 3076 = 958 A. D. During the minority of her son Abhimanyu and after his death in 44 in minority, during that of her grandson Nandigupta and after his death, during a similar minority of his brother Bhīmagupta and when he died or was killed she herself in her own name. ruled by the aid of Tantris and a minister-lover named Tunga a Khaśa by race. She eventually elected her brother's son Sangrāmarāja of the Lohara family as her successor and thus began the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir.

This heartless queen noted for her great oppression of the people enhanced by the machinations of unscrupulous ministers ranging themselves on one side or another died in 79 after a disreputable rule of 45 years from 34 to 79 *i. e.* 958 to 1003 A. D.

The Lohara dynasty being near Kalhaṇa's time is circumstantially described in the Rājataranginī but we may summarise the events in its time, as to us it is long gone by. The first king Sangrāmarāja was as usual a good and a prosperous king. In his reign began the final overthrow of India by the Mahomedans. Kalhaṇa gives a graphic description of the battle fought by Trilochanapāla Shahi king of Kabul, assisted by Tunga sent by the Kashmir king Sangrāmarāja, to help him against the Turks under Hamir (Amir, name not given). Trilochanpāla was defeated and fled to Kashmir and Kabul was finally lost to India. The poet mournfully observes, "We have described the prosperity of the Shahi country during the days of Śankaravarman. Now we think in our minds with great grief, where is that Shahi dynasty with its ministers, its kings, its great grandeur? Did it exist really or did it not? Tunga returned to his own country Kashmir, totally defeated and left the whole Bhāratatland open to the descent of the Turushkas." Tunga was in Kalhaṇa's view the cause of India's misfortune. Sangrāmarāja was already weary of this paramour of Diddā and he was murdered in open court by dissatisfied courtiers. Many men of his party fell and the country was cleared of the Tungas. After a reign of 24 years Sangrāma died in 4 (i. e. 4104 = 1028 A.D. Harirāja succeeded him; he too was a good king but died early. His minor son Ananta succeeded him. His friends were the sons of the dispossessed Shahi king, named Rudrapāla, Diddapala, Kshemapāla and Anangapāla who had ample allowances settled on them by Sangrāma and who yet were so spendthrift that they were always in need of money. They therefore by bribes oppressed the people, "So they too in a short time came to an end." (अन्येऽपिशाहितनयाः क्षिप्रमेवक्षयं ययुः। रुद्रपालेततो लूतामयेन प्रमये गते। VII

178). But they were a valorous set of warriors and were of great use to Anantarāja in his fight with the Turks For in the usual manner of the Indian people a disaffected sardar of Kashmir brought in the conquering Turks to overthrow Ananta. This was a formidable combination of seven Mlechha chiefs, Dāmaras, the king of Darada and the disaffected sardar Brahmarāja. But Anantarāja was a valiant warrior. The conflict was of course terrible. The poet observes "There was that day the marriage festivity of heavenly nymphs marked by the fire kindled out of the clashing of weapons. The Darada king was killed by Rudrapāla whose fame spread higher. The Mlechha chiefs got slanghter and imprisonment while the king of Kashmir got gold and jewels." This clearly shows that the Turks were totally defeated. Smith says in his Early History "In the reign of her nephew, Sangrāma, the kingdom suffered an attack from Mahmud of Ghazni and although its troops were defeated by the invader, preserved its independence which was protected by the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers" (3rd Edn. p. 375) This is against the testimony of the Rājataranginī. As we understand it, it relates the defeat of Sangrāma's forces not in Kashmir, but in Kabul where they had been sent to assist the Shahi king. Kashmir was not invaded in the days of Sangrāma at all. There was this expedition of seven Mlechha chiefs brought in by a traitor in the reign of Anantarāja and it was a signal failure.

Ānantarāja married a daughter of the king of Jālandhara by nam Sūryamatī. The king and his queen were both very religious persons. They built, as usual, several temples to Śiva to commemorate their name and they gave 108 agrahāras to Brahmins to enable them to study unmolested. King Bhoja of Malwa is said to have constructed a *kunda* in his days to commemorate his own name in Kashmir which shows the amicable relations existing between these two contemporaneous sovereigns. The queen Sūryamatī often assisted the king in the government of the country and sometimes took sole responsibility upon herself, the king merely executing her commands and

devoting himself solely to a religious life.* This happy royal couple, so rare in Indian history, was however extremely unhappy in later life. For Ananta by the advice of his queen in old age placed on the throne their son Kalaśa and retired. Kalaśa turned out a vagabond and when taken to task by his father for his licentiousness attempted to take Ananta's life. The aged king and queen in their retirement were surrounded and their place of residence set on fire. They with their followers issued out and wished to leave the kingdom, but they were implored by their subjects to stay. Kalaśa's son Harsha was called by them to their side and he left his father and went to his grandparents and comforted them. Still persecuted by his heartless son, king Kalaśa, Anantadeva one day killed himself. The queen was a most partial mother and every time espoused her son's cause. But the son did not even go to comfort his bereaved mother. She immolated herself on her husband's pyre like a true Hindu Satī cursing the ministers of Kalaśa who had taken her son away from her.

Kalaśa now induced his son Harsha to return to him and all the wealth of the aged king Ananta was kept separate and sealed as his separate portion. Kalasa turned a good king after Ananta's death and he too had a long reign. Harsha lived quietly at his court and attained great renown, as Kalhaṇa records, throughout India by his great accomplishments. He was a master of learning like his namesake Harsha of the 7th century. He was also a master of music and his musical compositions were greatly appreciated even by his father. But unlike his namesake, Harsha was unfortunate. Unscrupulous courtiers tried to set the son against the father and succeeded after a time. Harsha unfortunately rebelled and being overpowered he was placed in confinement. Some jealous queens and ministers tried even to poison him through food sent to him daily in prison. Coming to know of it, Harsha refused to take food and for a long time

* मखभक्तिमतस्नानध्यानशालादिभिर्गुणैः । कृतिनानन्तदेवेन मुनयोऽपि विनिर्जिताः ॥ VII 20

fasted. Kalaśa like his father died mourning for his disloyal son and wishing even to name Harsha his successor. But Nonaka the inimical minister intervened and Utkarsha another son of Kalaśa ascended the throne. Kalaśa is said to have died in 49 Mārgashīrsha (4149 Lauk.=1073 A. D.) The people generally were in favour of Harsha, but Utkarsha ruled cruelly in spite of them for a time. Vijayamalla, a third son of Kalaśa, however, made efforts to release Harsha and in this attempt he was joined by many. A battle was fought and Utkarsha was defeated and killed. Harsha was set at liberty and was crowned king of Kashmir.

Harsha ruled for a time justly and with great love and gratefulness to his brother and liberator Vijayamalla. Of course Nonaka and other ministers, partisans of Utkarsha, were sent to prison, but after a time even they were pardoned and appointed to offices.

Harsha's court now became the resort of learned men and he patronised them so much that Bilhaṇa, the poet-historian observes, who had left Kashmir in the days of Kalaśa and who had been patronised by Parmādi Vikramāditya of Karnātaka so liberally that Bilhaṇa's elephant rode in front of his army, regretted he had left his native land. The accomplishments and the learning of the king himself were past all description. "His time was passed in singing and hearing music, in composing musical pieces. He slept three hours by day and waked the whole night. In halls lighted by a thousand lights his nights passed in learned conversations or in singing and dancing. In his court both Kubera and Yama were constantly present and gifts and punishments flew about equally." (VII, 948). Yet his reign in the end was terribly unfortunate and his death resembles that of the unfortunate Dārā Śikoh of Mogul history

For unscrupulous persons again triumphed and poisoned the amicable relations between Harsha and Vijayamalla. In fact under a despotic form of government, where any body can become king if he had only the auda-

city, the unscrupulousness, the power and the good luck necessary, irrespective of the consent of the people, such things will always happen. It was represented to Vijayamalla that he had almost got the throne himself and had wrongly allowed Harsha to reap the fruit of his own victory. Vijayamalla was influenced and after a time rebelled. He was, however, defeated and compelled to fly the country. It appears that the reign of Harsha hereafter was one unending series of persecutions of Vijayamalla's partisans and oppression of the ryots also. Even Harsha's own son Bhoja was mistrusted by him and he too fled. Eventually, Harsha was overthrown in a rebellion by Ucchala, a collateral of thesame Lohara dynasty. His army was defeated and the capital was taken possession of by Ucchala. Harsha's queens burnt themselves to death and Harsha attended by one faithful servant fled and concealed himself in a Matha where he was found out and surrounded by Ucchala's men. Then, says the poet, Harsha remembered the śloka of the Rishis.* "The fire born of the exasperation caused by the oppression of subjects does not st p until it has burnt the prosperity, the family and even the life of the king." He even heard that his son had turned back to avenge him but had been killed in a battle. Thus bereft of every blessing in life, Harsha threw himself upon those who had surrounded the house and was killed. With Ucchala's permission unwillingly granted, a merciful person burnt the dead body of Harsha like that of a beggar and that of his faithful servant Prayāga who had also been killed in the conflict.

Harsha is said to have had the same astrological con junctions at birth as Duryodhana and other destroyers of their own family.† He died in the Bhādra month of 77 (4177 Lauk. = 1101 A. D.) and was 42 years and 8 months old (One would have expected him to be older). With him, the first Lohara line came to end and the Śatavāhana line of Ucchala commenced. This line was still reigning when Kalhaṇa wrote his Rājataranginī in Śaka

* प्रजापीडनसन्तापसमुद्भूतो हुताशनः ! राज्ञः श्रियं कुलं प्राणानदग्ध्वा विनिवर्तते ॥

† चन्द्रदैत्येष्वपापेषु समदारमजगतेषु च । आहुः ससंहिताकाराः कौरवादीन् कुलान्तकान् ॥

1070 or 1148 A. D. Ucchala ruled from 1101 to 1111 A. D. and was succeeded by his brother Sussala who reigned till 1128. Sussala had a strong reign but he was for a time dispossessed by Bhikshu a grandson of Harsha who had taken refuge at Dhārā. He, however, regained the throne and reigned securely till his death. His son by name Jayasinha a good and virtuous king succeeded him and was on the throne when Kalhaṇa wrote. Kalhaṇa has given such a detailed account of the reigns of this last dynasty that it covers nearly one-half of his work (47 years' history as compared with about 3000 years' history), but to the ordinary reader and student of general Indian history of the present day, the details of the intrigues and revolutions and counter-revolutions in this period are not of importance.

The history of Kashmir subsequent to Kalhaṇa may be finally given, before proceeding, in a few words. It remained a petty Hindu kingdom torn by internal dissentions while the whole of northern India came gradually under Mahomedan rule. At last a Mahomedan adventurer from the south named Shah Mīr deposed Queen Kota widow of he last Hindu ruler and founded a Mahomedan dynasty (1339 A. D.). Islam hereafter made its way among the population not by forcible conversion but by natural mutation. But the Brahmins though still sticking to their old religion retained the ascendant power in the land by their learning and their employment as government servants. Strangely enough till Akbar's final conquest of Kashmir in 1586 A. D. and its reduction to the status of a province of the Mogul Empire, Sanskrit remained the official language of the country, no doubt with many words borrowed from Persian and Arabic (Stein's Raj. Vol. I).

NOTES

1—POLITICAL CONDITION OF KASHMIR

The political condition of Kashmir was not very different from that of the rest of India but there are certain peculiarities which appear from the Rājatarangiṇī and which are worth noticing separately. It is to be pitied that no inscriptions or copperplate grants have been found in Kashmir to assist us in this work, notwithstanding the fact that numerous temples were built and Agrahāras to Brahmins given by almost every king and queen and minister. Invaluable *contemporaneous* records are thus not available. But the Rājataranginī itself is based on many previous histories and the author says he has consulted grants and inscriptions also, as he could probably very easily do, being a government officer himself. His work, therefore, as we have before observed, is reliable to a great extent from the Karkota dynasty onwards i. e. during our period and we give below such information as can be gathered from it relating to the form of goverment in Kashmir.

The government was of course as usual despotic, the powers of the king who was anointed by the Brahmins and who sat on a consecrated throne, being unlimited. His power was thus derived from the religious ceremony, in other words from God and was attested to by the Brahmins. These kings belonged to the Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Brahmin castes; but whatever their original caste they married into royal families of India and became Kshatriyas for all practical purposes. They were usually both valiant and learned men. No cowardly or ignorant man appears in the list of Kashmir kings. They usually dispensed justice impartially but were tyrannical in their exactions. In their private life they appear to have been very licentious. In fact it was then believed that kingly power was granted by God for earthly enjoyment to one who had in his previous life performed the most torturesome austerities. They, therefore, in this life went to the opposite extreme and threw themselves headlong into sexual enjoyment. Even the best Kashmir kings appear to have had several nay hundreds of queens, wives and concubines for carnal pleasure (with probably the single exception of Anantarāja who was satisfied with one wife only.) This conduct is singular and is not reflected in the history of other kingdoms. (Perhaps we have no veracious and outspoken historian like Kalhana for them). It resembles rather the Mahomedan and Roman practices than Indian. In the Christian history of the west, however, the beneficial influence of christianity with its principle of monogamy cannot but be admired. Copying the conduct of kings, queens whether wives or widows were often as licencious, but examples of noble women are not wanting. The wonder is that both ill-behaved and well-behaved queens immolated

themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Such is the force of custom and the intense power of the human desire for the good opinion of the world.

The king was assisted in the administration by ministers appointed at will who were usually both able as well as unscrupulous. The names of ministers are somewhat different from those in other countries. There does not appear to be any chief minister (indeed as in the polity of other countries in India.). But the minister called Dvārādhipa or master of the royal door in Kashmir seems to be the most important person. He was so to speak the High Chamberlain and had the control of the access to the king (VIII 576). Then there was the Kampanādhiśa which office cannot be well understood. He was probably the head of the army (579 ditto), and there was the Nagarādhiśa or head of the capital city (580), There was also the head of the treasury and the foreign minister Sāndhivigrahika is also mentioned (these two are general names and not special to Kashmir like the first three). There was again an officer of Ganjas which may be taken to be markets. Now markets are often said to be opened by kings, queens and ministers in their names. These places are places of barter and commerce and the head officer of them had the revenue collection of Sāyar or custom duties and also the regulation of trade under him and was thus a great power. The king had over these officials absolute power of appointment and dismissal. There was also an Akshapatalādhyaksha or chief of land revenue records. None of these officers was hereditary but sons of ministers usually became ministers in one or another department.

Very great opprobrium attached to the name of the Kāyasthas It is not quite clear if this was a separate caste in Kashmir. The greater ministers were usually Brahmins or Kshatriyas or of families belonging to the royal caste or clan. But the Kāyasthas in Kashmir appear to include all revenue collection officers. Probably they formed a class among themselves. They were always the most willing instruments in the hands of oppressive kings on whom, however, the blame for oppression must really rest. These officers and and officers of armies and the soldiers called Tantris were also very corrupt and Utkocha or bribe is a word that constantly occurs in the Rājataranginī.

There is one department mentioned in the Rājataranginī which it is difficult to understand. It is called Karmasthāna and its officer was also an important officer. Perhaps it meant the public works department. All construction of buildings, temples, mathas etc. must have been in his charge and as head of a great spending department the officer must have had splendid opportunities for embezzlement.

The king's darbar was, as in oldest times, the court of justice and kings are described as most zealously hearing every morning the complaints of Arthis or plaintiffs. The vivādas or cases were inquired into with the assistance of fixed jurors who are called stheya and sometimes

even these stheyas were partial and just kings by curious artifices found out the truth. In a case of treasure deposited with a person one king is said to have detected misappropriation by the defendent by inspecting the sealed deposit and finding therein rupees stamped with the name of kings who had not even come to the throne at the time of the deposit. This also shows that each king struck coins in his own name when he came to the throne as in these days. The coins are called Dinnāras (with a double n). And these were of gold and silver as well as of copper. The servants of government were paid so many copper Dīnnāras a day, a court poet as already stated being described (of course by exaggeration), as receiving one lakh of Dīnnāras every day.

The king could not have always presided in the court of justice and there was always a Rājasthānīya or deputy of the king appointed. (Stein also translates Rājasthānīya by Chief Justice VII 573). There was again a Dandanāyaka for the state who was probably the chief police officer with the jails in his charge and thus he was the master of punishments. Both these officers and others previously mentioned such as the Dvārādhipati, Ganjadhipa etc. were persons expected to lead military expeditions and were in fact generals and warriors also. For the king sent any one of them according to his pleasure to chastise rebels. Of course kings usually led armies in person on all important occasions.

The kingdom seems to have been divided into districts which were called Rājyas. The Madavarājya and Kramarājya so often mentioned in the Taranganī were clearly divisions of Kashmir and their chief officers were usually king's relatives for they are often called Rājas also. There were no Tehsils or Parganas as are now called below the Rājya but the usual revenue unit was the village. Village officers are not mentioned, but there must have been the usual ones. The heads of villages appear to be generally Dāmaras, a warlike and turbulent race which required often to be kept in check by severe punishments such as impalement or śūlāropaṇa. But they often also supplied peasant voluntary armies to the king. The revenue of the state must have been derived in kind.

There were certain other officers called Diviras; who they were it is difficult to find. Stein translates Divira by writer or secretary. It may be stated that these secretaries of the king (Diviras) are mentioned even in Valabhi grants. Then again the military officers or men called Tantris and Ekāngas are also ununderstandable. These names are not found elsewhere. Are the Ekāngas equivalent of the Ekāndas of the Maratha armies? Or do we recognise in them the *Yekangbaj* of Ahmednagar Mahomedan warriors who fought with one weapon only, mentioned by Febrista? "They made both offence and defence with the same sword."

The kingdom of Kashmir had a few subordinate feudatory states always dependent upon it and these appear to be Lohara, Uraśa and Rājapuri (kingdoms mentioned even by Hiuen Tsang as subject to Kashmir in 630 A. D.) In the time of Kalaśa in 63 (4163 Lauk.=1087 A. D.) eight kings came together to pay respects to him and there were great celebrations. (The minister Vāmana is described as having so successfully made arrangements for their reception and entertainment that nothing was left to be desired). These were Kirtini king of Abbapura, Āsaṭa king of Champa, Kalaśa son of Tukka king of Ballāpura, Sangrāmapāla king of Rajapuri. Utkarsha king

of Lohara, Munja king of Uraśa *Gambhīraśinha* of Kāndeśa and Uttamarāja king of Kāshthavāta. These appear to be small kinddoms on the frontier of Kashmir. They had usually marriage relations with the Kashmir royal families. Where these states were situate we cannot clearly determine.

The sorrounding independent states were Gurjara in the south, Shahi or Kabul in the west, Turushka in the nor.h and the Darada in the east. The Daradas (also sometimes spelt Darad) seem to have had constant conflicts with the Kashmiris.

Kashmir was always famous for its learned men and the kings usually were patrons of learning. King Harsha was a great pandit himself; so also Jayāpīda. The settlements of: Brahmins were numerous and had Agrahāras or inam villages assigned to them. These were in fact learned Universities well endowed by kings. The Kashmir pandits were famous throughout India. Their names have a peculiar turn worthy to be mentioned. They always ended in *ṭa.* or *ṇa.* such as Udbhaṭa, Mammaṭa, Lavaṭa and so on or Salhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa and so on. Kashmir names generally strike us as peculiar in these days, but they are not of Turkish origin.

II—Chronological List of Kashmir Kings 601 A. D.—1148 A D.

1st Dynasty (Karkota)

- Durlabhavardhan, 36 years 601–637 A. D.
  - Durlabhaka, 50 years 637–687 A. D.
    - Chandrāpīda, 8 years
    - Tārāpīda, 4 years
    - Muktāpīda Lalitāditya, 36 years 699–735 A. D.
      - Kuvalayāpīda, 1 year
      - Vajrāpīda, 7 years
        - Sangrāmāpīda, 7 years
        - Jayāpīda Vinayāditya, 31 years 751–782 A. D.
          - Sangrāmāpīda, 7 years
          - (Lalitāpīda)
            - Chippatajayāpīda
              - Utpalāpīda
              - Ajitāpīda
              - Anangāpīda, deposed 855 A. D. by Avantivarman son of Utpala

(Ajitāpīda and Anangāpīda: Minors in the hands of Utpala maternal uncle of Chippata.)

2nd Dynasty (Utpala)

Avantivarman
29 years 855-884 A. D.
|
Śankarvarman
18 years 884-902 A. D.

Gopālavarman
minor

Sankatavarman
minor

mother Sugandhā regent
902-906-914.

Minor kings of a collateral branch like Pangu, Chakravarman. Pārtha ruled from 915 to 939 A. D.

3rd Dynasty (Viradeva)

Yaśaskaradeva
8 years 940-948 A. D.
|
Sangrāmadeva 949

4th Dynasty (Divira)

Parvagupta
8 years 950-958

Kshemagupta—m. Diddā.
958-972 grand daughter of Shahīs
|
Abhimanyu 973 d.

Regent and for herself 980-1003 d.

Nandigupta
975 d.

Tribhuvana
980 d.

Bhīma

5th Dynasty (Lohara)

1st Branch

Sangrāmarāja Diddā's brother's son 1004-1029 A.D.
|
Anantarāja 1059 A. D.
|
Kalaśa 1073 A. D.

Harsha
1101 d.
|
Bhoja
killed in battle
|
Bhikshu
1130

Utkarsha
1089 d.

2nd Branch

(Malla)

Ucchala
1111 A. D.

Sussala
1128 A. D.
|
Jayasinha
ruling when Kalhaṇa
wrote in 1148 A. D.

III SOME NOTABLE FACTS ABOUT KASHMIR

1. Kashmir is a large valley between two extensive ranges, almost impassable, of the Himalaya mountains. The river Vitastā passes through this valley and comes out into the plains of the Panjab through a narrow gorge, at which is placed the principal gateway into Kashmir. This has enabled Kashmir to shut entrance to it to foreigners, to such an extent that Kashmir may be shut like a castle. And Kashmir has always, unlike other Indian kingdoms, taken care to shut out foreigners. We read that the Gauda people who wished to take revenge on Lalitāditya, obtained entrance to Kashmir only on the pretext that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Śāradā temple. The three or four minor passages into Kashmir besides this chief one at Varāhamula (modern Baramulla) were also always shut and guarded.

2. The river Vitastā is joined by another river in the centre of the valley. This river is called Sindhu (different from the chief Sindhu or Indus) and is looked upon as the Ganges of Kashmir and the confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu is considered sacred like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāga. In fact वितस्तासिन्धुसङ्गम is a great Tīrtha in Kashmir and is also called Prayāga. Near this Tīrtha Lalitāditya founded his city Parihāsapura (no longer existing). The third important river of Kashmir is called the Krishnā (modern Kishenganga) which joins the Vitastā lower down at the end of the valley.

3. Śrinagar the capital is an ancient town. An older city exists said to be founded by Aśoka. The modern city was founded by Pravarasena about 553 A.D. at the latest (some years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 630) and was also called Pravarapura. It is situated upon the Vitastā higher up than Parihāsapura and is laid on both banks of the river, there being many bridges of boats for communication.

4. The chief product of the valley besides saffron (called Kāshmir in Sanskrit for this reason) is rice. In ancient times rice was also the chief article of barter. Government due was of course paid in kind and hence there was a large quantity of rice collected for government and government gave rice naturally to its servants as pay. Other people also usually gave rice in payment for services and in exchange for other things purchased. This state of things may remind any old inhabitant of Konkan of what happened there before the advent of the British. Kashmir was in fact a counterpart of Konkan in this respect.

5. In another respect also Kashmir resembles Konkan. The people whether higher or lower subsist on rice and hence are very intelligent. The lower people in both are aboriginal and not Aryan. The higher viz. the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Kāyasthas are Aryan and are found in both The Brahmins are equally orthodox and religious in both. The Kashmiris have overspread Northern India and equally the Konkan Brahmins Southern. Strangely enough in Northern

India the title of Pandit is even now given only to Kashmir Brahmins and Konkan (and other Maratha) Brahmins, testifying to the reputation of both as learned men.

6. Kashmir coin was Dinnāra. It is the Roman coin Denaris. It originally must have been the Indo-Scythian coin. There were however gold, silver and copper Dinnaras. The word was the same for all and it appears even that the lowest value was also called Dinnāra. European scholars whose indefatigable labours cannot but be always acknowledged have collected many coins of Kashmir kings and tested their metal and weight. The incredible number of coins mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the daily pay of poets like Udbhaṭa or princes like Rudrapāla are well explained by Stein. It appears that the Kashmirians devised lowest divisions of value and introduced a system of counting by hundreds and thousands. The modern words still current in Kashmir viz: Pachisa, Hatha and Sisnu are evidently 25 (sk. Panchavimśati) 100 (sk. Śata) and 1000 (sk. Sahasra). Thus the credit of first introducing a decimal notation in coins belongs to intellegent Kashmir. In this way though rice often may in actuality be given in pay, the amount could be expressed in thousands of the lowest coin value.

7. The number of villages in Kashmir is given by Stein as 66,063. Every country in ancient India had traditionally a fixed number of villages; e. g. the three Mahārāshtras had 99000. The number for Kashmir looking to its extent seems exaggerated. But we may state here that this traditional number is also given by the Skanda Purāṇa in which in Chapter 39 Māheshvara Khanda, the names of countries with their numbers of villages is given. Therein the number for Kashmir is given as 66000. All towns etc. are included in these and perhaps towns must have been counted as more than one village.

8. We have said the Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh-eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not. Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre-Mahomedan as we have already seen from Kalhaṇa's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a king.

IV. Chronology of the Karkota Dynasty.

Stein divides Kashmir history by Kalhaṇa into three portions: I history of legendary kings down to Karkota dynasty. II. history of this dynasty and III history of later dynasties. The chronology of the first is distorted and unreliable while that of the last two given by Kalhaṇa is correct. The chronology, however, of the Karkota dynasty though generally reliable requires a correction of 25 years according to Stein and others. This opinion has been propounded by

scholars on a comparison with dates in Chinese history which contain references to Kashmir kings. Thus Chandrāpīda is assigned by Kalhaṇa to 686—695 A. D. But Chinese history says that Chandrāpīda sent an embassy in 713 A. D. to China and was recognised as king by China in 720 A. D. Then again Lalitāditya Muktāpida who according to Kalhaṇa ruled from 699 to 735 sent an embassy to China after 736-7 (Stein Vol. I p. 67). There seems to be a reference also to the first king Durlabha (602-635) as Dulope is said in Chinese history to have been asked to give safe conduct to Kipisi (Kabul) envoys between 627-649. Lastly a poet, Ratnākara, wrote during the reign of "the young Bṛihaspati last king of the Karkotakas; but he is also said by Kalhaṇa himself to be a poet in the court of the next king Avantivarman who ruled correctly enough from 855 to 883 A. D. How can Brihaspati's date be 814, scholars ask, as assigned by Kalhaṇa to his death? Such are the arguments on which Stein and other European scholars bring Kalhaṇa's dates for Karkotakas down by 25 years. These corrected dates are of course followed by Sir V. Smith, who has accordingly placed the conquest of Kanouj by Lalitāditya after 736 A. D. (also on other authorities of Chinese historians).

V—Exactions of Śankaravarman (883-902 A. D.)

We have already stated that the exactions of this king were most oppressive and that they will be noticed separately. They are described by Kalhaṇa in V. 167-183. The translation of the ślokas concerned is as follows (Stein Vol. II page 298-9).

167—This robber of the temples possessed in villages and other property two new officers called Attapatibhāga (share of the lord of the market) and Gṛhakritya (domestic affairs).

168—He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal-wood, and other articles of worship under the pretext that they were the king's legal share of the price.

169—Then again he plundered straightway 64 temples through special officers placed under pretence of supervision.

170—The king resumed the villages belonging to the temples against compensatory assignments (pratikara) and then cultivated the land himself as if he was an agriculturist.

171—He reduced the weight in the scales by one-third and still made out that he gave more to the temple corporation (parishad) than the due annual allowance, pretending that the deductions were due to food-supply, price of woolen clothes and the like.

172—When he was in another region he fined those villagers who did not come and carry their loads for one year by the value of the load according to higher prices.

173—In the next year he fined without any fault all villagers in the respective villages by the value of the load according to the same calculation.

174—Thus he introduced that well-known system of forced carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villagers and which is of thirteen kinds.

175—By levying contributions for the monthly pay of the skandhakas, village clerks (grāmakāyasthas) and the like and by other exactions he drove the villagers into poverty.

176—Thus by deducting or adding to the weights, by fines on the villagers and similar imposts, he amassed revenue for Gṛihakṛitya.

177—He appointed in this special office five secretaries (divira) and the sixth the treasurer (Ganjāvara Śakana who was also called Lavata ?)

178—Thus this foolish ruler accepted hell for himself in order to benefit by his acts future kings or functionaries.

The above description will give an idea of the many imposts introduced by Śankaravarman. The Rūdhabhārodhi or begār of villages has, Stein says, remained to this day. The ways of plundering temples and villagers are, however, usually the same with all rapacious kings in India.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

(Before taking up the history of the Panjab, Rājputana and Mid-India which constitute India par excellence, we shall first relate the history of the surrounding kingdoms and first those in the west which are of importance. These are of course Valabhi and Broach mentioned by Hieun Tsang. For the history of Valabhi we have only inscriptional records to rely upon, in fact copperplate grants only; but these are numerous enough and they supply very valuable information which has already been collated and given at length in the Bombay Gazetteer Volume on Gujarat. We shall rely mostly on this and give the history of Valabhi or Eastern Saurashtra. The only question in dispute is about the origin of this dynasty and we shall have to insist upon our own opinion in contradiction to the almost unanimous voice of Western antiquarian scholars supported by that of many Indian).

The kingdom of Valabhi was situated in Eastern Kathiawar or ancient Saurashtra. The old town of Valabhi has been discovered recently, a few miles to the north-west of Bhavnagar. The kingdom, though small, was important enough to be visited by Hiuen Tsang in 640 A. D. Nov. 1. (see itinery in Cunningham). He states two facts in connection with it viz. that the king was a Kshatriya his name being Dhruvasena, and that he was son-in-law to Harsha the Emperor of India and king of Kanauj. These particulars tally well with what we find in the inscriptions and copper-plate grants themselves; as also with the tradition about the origin of the Valabhi kings as current among the Sesodias of Udepur who trace their origin to them and who are by common consent of India, considered to be the best and most ancient Kshatriyas being the direct descendants of Rama of the premier solar race of Ayodhya.

Now European Scholars impelled by a strange bias have tried latterly to show that the Valabhi kings belonged to the Gujar race and were therefore foreigners who are alleged to have come with the Huns in about 500 A. D. and founded this kingdon on the

ruins of the Gupta empire. But there are no grounds whatever for this strange opinion. The Valabhi grants usually begin with the words* quoted below which show that Valabhi kings were descended from one Batārka of the Maitraka family. Now what is meant by the word Maitraka? Western scholars seem to say that Mitra is the sun and therefore is equivalent of Mihira and therefore Maitrakas were Mihiras !!! A strange theory indeed. The simple explanation is that Maitraka was the name of the family like Maukhari, Chalukya etc. and that it must be left untranslated, and no conjectures should be hazarded about its meaning. But if any are to be made, why not say that Maitraka means Mitra-born or solar? It would be best, however, to leave these scholars to their biassed opinions and to explain our theory. The Valabhi kings were certainly known to be the best Kshatriyas in Harsha's time i. e. about 620 A. D. Hiuen Tsang calls him straightly so while he distinctly declares that Harsha was a Vaiśya. That he was of the best family of Kshatriyas may be believed in from the fact that Harsha gave him his only daughter in marriage. We have already seen that Kshatriyas in those days married Vaiśya girls especially if they were daughters of kings. It must have been an ambition with Vaiśya kings to give their daughters to the best Kshatriya princes in marriage. We have seen how Rājyaśrī, Harsha's sister, was for this reason given to Grahavarman Maukari of Kanauj. We have already quoted Bāṇa's words in this connection† "Wise men look for noble descent only in the bride-groom among his other qualifications." We may, therefore, well believe that Harsha gave his daughter to Dhruvasena because in his days (in the 7th century) Valabhi kings were looked upon as best Kshatriyas. It seems also perfectly certain that kingly families in the days of Harsha sought to assign themselves to the ancient solar or lunar races

* स्वस्ति श्री प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणां अतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात् प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागात् अनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कात् (Epi. Ind. VIII p. 190.)

† सत्स्वपि अन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजनमेवाभिरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः

described in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. We have quoted Bāṇa's evidence on this point also. "Show me if you find such a resplendent king (like Harsha) in your vaunted solar and lunar lines." It is clear, therefore, that the belief that certain families of Kshatriyas were solar and certain others lunar in decent is as old as Bāṇa and Harsha of 620 A. D. It is on the other hand impossible to believe that foreigners or mlechhas who came to India about 500 A. D. could have, within a hundred years, so palmed themselves off upon the people as to be looked upon as the best Kshatriyas in India. Powerful kings in India like Pratāpavardhana and others were very careful to prevent mixture of Varnas and such an event was therefore, impossible. They might have succeeded in getting into Kshatriya fold with Kshatriya names. But as Hindu society always did, they would be looked upon as one more branch of Vrātya Kshatriyas added to the hundred and one Kshatriya sub-castes guarded by marriage restriction.

Nor does the history of Valabhi kings as given by tradition seem inconsistent with the natural course of events and require a conquest by foreigners. Their tradition is that one Kanakasena of the solar family from Ayodhya came first to Lohakot which need not be Lahore, and from thence to Birnagar in Saurastra. There he took possession of it from a local prince in A. D. 144. Four generations later, Vijayasena founded Vijayapur (now Dholka) and subsequently the family founded Valabhipur (Todd). Now this tradition does not contradict known history or the inscriptions. Kshatriya adventurers were always ready to go where they could found a kingdom and Kanakasena might have found opportunity to become a Thakur under the Śaka kings of Kathiawar of A. D. 144. Later on when the Guptas conquered the country the Senas might have been the sub-lords of the Guptas. Now Bhatārka is styled Senāpati in early copperplates. He was probably a general of the Gupta forces in Saurashtra and must have fought their battles with invaders either in Saurashtra or in the Panjab and elsewhere. When the Gupta empire fell, he

must have become independent in his own small state of Valabhi, still preserving the title Senāpati as one of honour. Such things have constantly happened in Indian history from the most ancient times to the modern. When empires fall, the governors of provinces become independent and still preserve their former titles of honour, witness the Vazier of Oudh or the Nizam of the Deccan. These titles are of those offices which they actually filled under the Moghals, and when they became independent they still kept them as honourable ones. This will suffice to explain the title Senāpati, and others taken by Bhatārka of the Maitraka family. (The word Maitrakānām had wrongly been interpreted previously as applying to his enemies. It has been rightly now explained as belonging to Bhatārka; but it is indicative of his family and as we have shown above it does not make him a meher.) The epithet अनुरक्त-मौलभृतश्रेणी-बलावाप्तराज्यश्री shows that Bhatārka was born in a kingly family and had many Kshatriya followers who were servants of the state for many generations. This proves that it was not Bhatārka who first rose to royal dignity.*

Having thus dispelled the clouds that have gathered about Bhatārka's family and race, we proceed to sketch in short the history of the family onwards which can be gathered from the inscriptions in a continuous stream down to about the middle of the 8th century. This history is undisputed and we copy it from the Bombay

* It is curious to note that this theory of ours turns out to be not a new one and that it was propounded years ago by Major Watson and accepted by Cunningham. It seems that it has been left out in later histories in consequence of the new theory started that the Valabhi kings were Gujars by race This is what Cunningham writes in Arch S R. Vol. XIX Central Provinces p. 28 "I am willing to accept Major Watson's traditional account that he (Senapati Bhatarla) was the governor of Surashtra under Skandagupta As his son Dharasena takes only the same simple title I conclude he remained tributary to Budhagupta. His second son however not only bears the title Mahārāja but records that he was installed by the king of the whole world. As I have pointed out, this was probably the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Budhagupta" " The coins which I now notice also confirm the same state of things. No. 23 Rev. Legend in modified Gupta character " Mahārājno Mahākshatra parama Sāmanta Mahā Sri Bhattarakasa " One of Mr Newtons coins and several of my own read " Rājno Mahākshatra, Paramāditya Rājno Sāmanta Mahāsri Bhattarakasa. No. 24 Rev. Legend in modified Gupta character " Mahārājno, Mahākshatra Sāmanta Mahesha Paramaditya Dhara senasa " The word Mahākshatra on these coins distinctly proves that thcee Senas prided themselves on being true Kshatriyas.

Gazetteer Gujarat Volume. It may be added that the Valabhi copperplate grants use invariably the Gupta era, so much so, that it has come to be called also the Valabhi era (see Alberuni). They were originally subjects of the Guptas or they use this era because it was then prevalent in Saurāshtra. Secondly the seal of all these grants is the same, viz. a bull with the legend under it Śri Bhatārka (in Prakrit) showing that the family never lost its respect for its founder Bhatārka.

No-copperplate comes from his time but we have one from his son Dhruvasena. Bhatārka is therein styled Senāpati. He had four sons who seem to have successively ruled viz. 1 Dharasena. 2 Dronasinha 3 Dhruvasena and 5 Dharapatta. Dharasena is called Senāpati like his father, and Dronasinha is styled Mahārāja "invested with royal authority by the great Lord of the whole world." The Gazetteer looks upon this as ambiguous but this is plain enough as it shows that the kingship was formally acknowledged by the declining Gupta Emperors. The Valabhi family appears during the first reigns to have also recognised the Guptas as their overlords, and when that line was extinct then only they styled themselves Mahārājādhirāja. They till then also took the title of Mahasāmanta as Dhruvasena's grants still declare. Dharasena probably ruled from 526 A. D. to 535 A. D. His two brothers ruled before him and probably Dharapatta younger brother ruled after him. Gūhasena a son of the last, (539-569 A. D.) has left three copperplate grants and an inscription. He seems to have become the first independent sovereign and later grants mention his name first after Bhatārka Indeed we find the last Gupta Emperor Kumāraguptā II ruled about 535 A. D. V. S. E. H. p. 312. Gūhasena is also called Gohila and according to Rajput fashion his descendents in collateral branches called themselves Gehlots (Gohila-putra, Prakrit Gehlot).

Gūhasena was succeeded by his son Dhruvasena II. Five of his grants have been found. In two he is called Mahasāmanta; this may be by habit or the Gupta Empire

still survived in a moribund condition like the Mogul empire. He may be supposed to have ruled from 569 to 589 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Śiladitya I. His grants have also been found. He is as usual Parama Māheśvara or great devotee of Śiva though he gives donations to Buddhists also. He may be placed between 590 and 609. A. D. He was succeeded by his brother Kharagraha (610-615) He has left no grants. He was succeeded by his son. Dharasena III (615-620). His successor was his brother Dhruvasena (620-640). He is the famous son-in-law of Harsha who accompanied him on his many expeditions and was present at his great alms-giving ceremony at Prayāga as described by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang gives his name as Dhruvapotta which is the same as Dhruvabhata. From a Broach grant it appears that this king had been defeated by Harsha and had sought refuge with the Broach king Dadda. This must have been before his marriage. (He may have refused to marry Harsha's daughter but in Rajput fashion consented after defeat). He was latterly entirely Buddhist perhaps for his father-in-law's sake.

He was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV "perhaps the most powerful of the Valabhi kings." His copperplate grant dated Gupta 330 or 649 A. D. shows that he assumed even the title of Chakravarti along-with other high sounding titles. This may be a reality for his successors omit this title for themselves and use only Maharajādhirāja. It was during the reign of this king that Bhatti composed his Bhattikāvya at Valabhi as is stated at the end of the poem.

Dharasena IV had no son and therefore a son of a collateral and chief of some district in Khaira near the Vindhya mountains succeeded him as Dhruvasena III (650-656). A copperplate grant of his has been found recording the grant of Pedhapadra in Vanthali (the modern

Vanthali in Navanagar). He was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha who has also left one grant. He was succeeded by his son Śiladitya III (666-675). His titles are Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśa which are now always taken by his successors as also the name Śiladitya which is henceforth like Vallabha of the Chālukyas the nick-name of the Valabhi kings. We *have thus in succession Śiladitya IV' and V and VI and* VII the last being also called Dhruvabhata. One grant of his dated 766 A. D. has been found.

The story of the destruction of Vaiabhi which probably occurred during this king's reign is told by Alberuni. Ranka a disaffected subject of Valabhi called the Arabs of Mansura, the new capital of Sind founded by Mahamad Kasim's son (now not in existence). They sailed in ships down the Indus and came by sea suddenly into the estuary of Bhavnagar and made a night attack on Valabhi which was not then far from the head of the estuary. The town was sacked and destroyed. The king was killed and the population dispersed. Thus was the usual cause viz. treachery, responsible for the destruction of a flourishing kingdom. Valabhi town continued for some centuries more, in a dilapidated condition and is mentioned by Arab writers of the 10th century even. But the kingdom no longer existed and the town too disappeared finally, to be discovered quite recently in ruins near Bhavnagar which *in modern history has taken the place of* Valabhi.

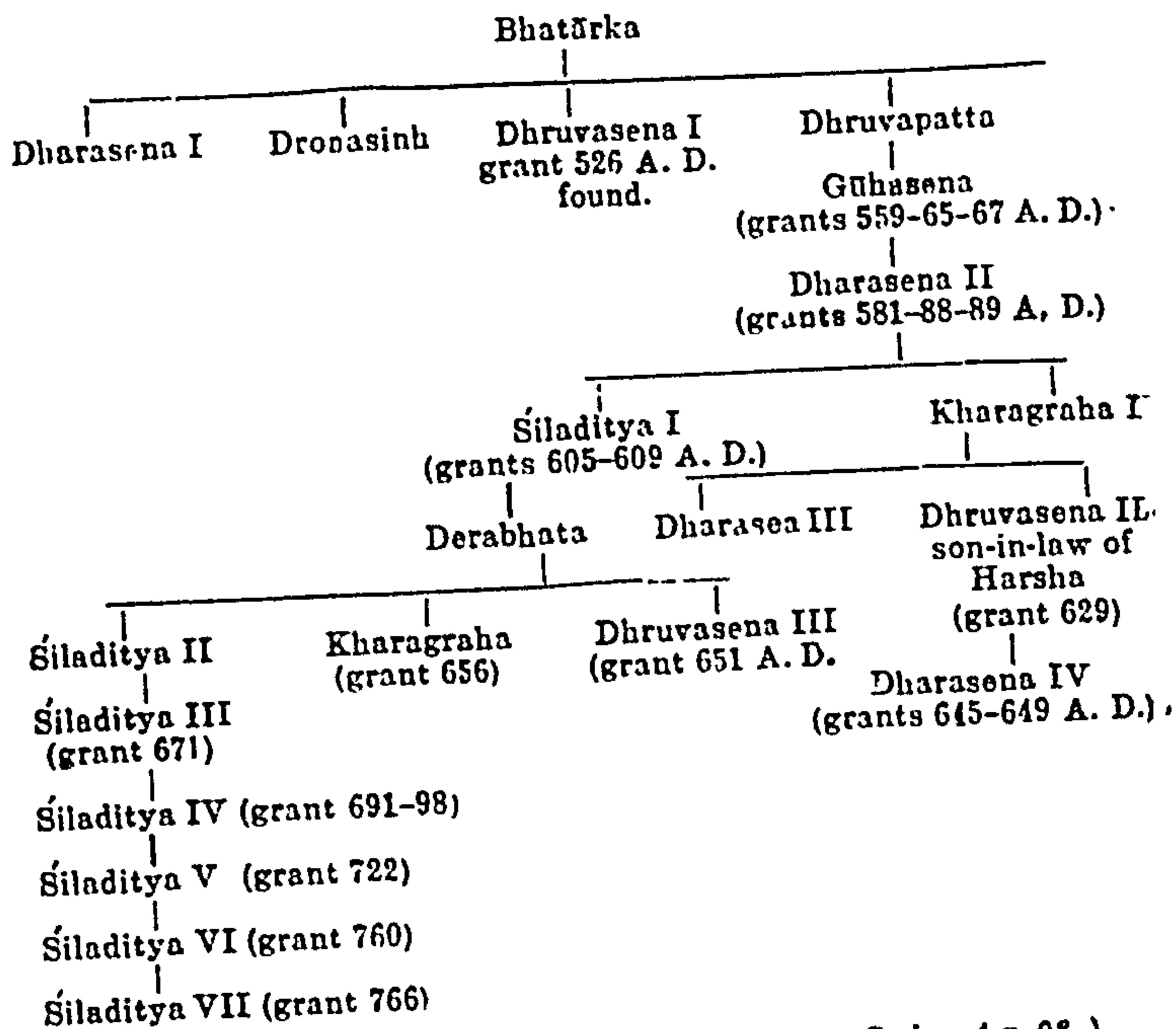
Thus the Valabhi dynasty lasted from about 509 to 775 A. D. in which year this event is usually placed. For 275 years thus, Northern Gujarat and Eastern Kathiawar were in a prosperous and happy condition. This was due both to the people and the ruling dynasty. The people of Gujarat appear to have been then as now peaceful, industrious and thrifty. The kings appear to have been simple, straightforward and unavaricious. They tried to please the people

as a king ought to do (see *ranjanad rāja* of Kālidāsa and the grant quoted at the end, of these Valabhi kings.) The administration seems to have been most orderly and systematic. We have already noted the names of officers which appear from the grants of these kings viz. Āyuktaka, Drānghika, (Dranga-town), Mahattara, Chātabhata (Policeman), Dhruva (hereditary accountant of the village, a name still current in Gujarat), Ādhikaraṇika (Judicial officer), Dandapāśika Chaurodharaṇika, Rājasthānīya, Amātya, Shaulkika (toll officer), Bhogika (revenue collector), Vartmapāla, Pratisāraka, Vishayapati (Mamlatdar), Rāshtrapati and so on. (Bombay Gazetteer Gujarat p. 182). The land was fully cultivated, every field being measured and named. The collection of revenue was in kind and called Bhoga as everywhere else a word still surviving in Gujarat. The kings have signed the grants with their own hand being usually learned men. And the kings do not appear to have been licentious or oppressive as in Kashmir. In fact it may be said that they were not unmindful of their duties as descendants of Rāma, the ideal good king of ancient India.

The extent of the dominion of Valabhi was not wide. It included, however, a great part of Kathiawar and of Gujarat, Kaira district and some portion of Western Malwa also, as is apparent from some of their grants. The smallness of the kingdom may explain to some extent why Valahbi fell so easily before the Arabs. Of course the immediate explanation is the treachery of Ranka. But we may also add a third explanation viz. the unwarlike character of the people and even the rulers which must have resulted from the wide spread of the Buddhistic principles, chiefly the principle of Ahimsa of which Gujarat is even now the stronghold. Gujarat appears to have imbibed this principle during the rule of many kings including the Śilāditya of Molapo described by Hiuen Tsang.

GENEALOGY OF THE VALABHI DYNASTY

(A. D. 509-766)



(*Bombay Gazetteer Gujarat p. 93.*).

CHAPTER VIII

THE GURJARS OF BROACH

(For this history we have the evidence of copperplate grants of this dynasty found and the history is well collected in the Gujarat Gazetteer. We may also take the help of other inscriptions and Purāṇas specially Skanda Purāṇa).

Valabhi may practically be looked upon as Saurashtra, or modern Kathiawar while Broach may be looked upon as modern Gujarat. The grants of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach disclose that there were six kings of this family with authentic dates as given in the margin. They seem to have ruled in Broach and Nandipur (modern Nandori in the Rajpipla state) from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the 8th. They call themselves Gurjara and in the last two kings' grants they claim to be descended from one Mahārāja Karna. It does not appear who this Karna is. Most take it to be the Karna of the Mahābhārata. But this does not seem correct, for Karna would never be called Mahārāja and Karna was only a Suta or mixed breed and not a Kshatriya. If a false genealogical descent is to be concocted why should a bastard Kshatriya be chosen? Karna seems to be some famous king of the Gurjaras themselves whose history has been lost to us. How the Gurjaras came so far south it is difficult to know but they must have come from Bhinmal which according to Hiuen Tsang was the Gurjara kingdom pre-eminently so called in his days. The kings of Broach call themselves in their grants Sāmantas and not fully independent kings. They must have been dependent upon the Gurjaras of Bhinmal as no other kingdom can be assigned as their overlord.

Dada A. D. 580
Jayabhata I 605
Dada II 633
Jayabhata II 655
Dada III 680
Jayabhata III 706-734.

Gujarat is a border state between north and south; it is in fact a meeting ground for both. The Gurjaras them-

selves are admittedly northern people; but the Gurjaras of Broach use in their grants the Traikutaka otherwise called the Kalachuri era (starting point 249 A. D.) Their grants are also written in the Gujarati style of the southern Indian character while the royal signature at the end is northern (Bombay Gaz. Gujarat p. 114), thus showing that while the kings were northerners the people were southerners. It is clear that the rule previous to that of the Gurjaras was that of the Traikūtakas who claimed to be Haihayas by descent and whose capital Trikuta not yet well identified is mentioned even in the Rāmāyaṇa and in Kalidāsa's Raghuvanśa

We may note here that Gujarat may be divided into three parts (the chief rivers of modern Gujarat being the Tapi, the Nerbudda, the Mahi and the Sabarmati in their later courses as they join the sea). South Gujarat may be taken to extend upto the Nerbudda; middle Gujarat upto the Mahi and north Gujarat beyond the Mahi. In ancient times south Gujarat was first called Parānta as we see in the Mahābhārata and thereafter Lāta, as we see in many grants and in Varāhamihira. Middle Gujarat was called Ānarta. This name has disappeared finally. It was first substituted by Bharukachha while northern Gujarat is called Ānandapura by Hiuen Tsang. Now south and middle Gujarat were formerly under the Traikutakas who came from the Deccan and hence they gave their characters and their era to the grants of the Broach Gurjaras. These latter sometimes held sway over south Gujarat also; but the Chālukyas of the Deccan soon conquered this part and established at Navasari a Gujarat Chālukya branch. A copperplate grant of these Chālukyas (also using the Traikutaka era) is very important. It shows that the Arabs having conquered Sind in 712 A. D. made several attempts, as may be expected, to conquer the adjoining kingdoms in succession. And one attempt of this kind was frustrated in a hard fought battle by these Chālukyas near Navasari. This grant of the Gujarat Chālukya branch of Pulakeshin date A. D. 739

(Tr. 390) is interesting for the general history of India.* The Arabs were called Tajikas by the Indians. They are said in this grant to have assailed Sind, Kachhella, Saurāshtra (Valabhi) Chavotaka and Maurya (to be noticed hereafter) and Gurjara and then come to Navasari country "with the object of attacking the Deccan through it and conquering all the Deccan kings." We have here the kingdoms existing in 738. A. D. between Sind and Navasari. Gujarat in this grant represents very probably the kingdom of Broach including that of the Gurjaras of the north. Middle Gujarat was generally subject to the Broach line of Dadda though parts were sometimes under Valabhi; but Ānandapura and Kachha even were in the time of Hiuen Tsang under Malwa. The rule of the Gurjaras lasted, as we have said, about 200 years and the Broach line disappeared, like Valabhi, somewhere about the middle of the 8th century; how we have no mention yet in historical records. It was certainly not destroyed by the Arabs. It may have been destroyed by the Chālukyas or by the Chāvotakas. It is, however, a mere guess and we find the Gurjara kingdom of Broach finally disappear, leaving its name ineffaceably attached to the country.

The names of countries are sometimes inexplicable. England is called after the Angles, though they are an insignificant part of its people, the Britons, the Saxons, the Normans, the Danes being all ignored. India is known now by all its inhabitants as Hindustan and yet this name is not the one which the people gave it. It is a name given by foreigners. The people themselves called it originally Bharata Khanda a name now not used or only rarely used. Panjab again is a foreign name, the original name being Panchanada which remains now only in the Vedas and the Mahābhārata. So it seems that Gujarat is a name given by foreigners and then adopted by the people as Gurjaratrā. But the Gurjaras have left nothing in

*दारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्रचावोटकमौर्यगुर्जरादिराज्ये निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजिगीषया दक्षिणापथप्रवेश......प्रथममेवनवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके etc. (Bombay Gaz. Guj. p.)

Gujarat. The common people are not Gurjara by descent, being totally different in character and features from the Gurjaras of the north. The Brahmins are not Gurjaras. The Nāgars are not Gurjaras, though antiquarians tell them that they are Gurjaras and foreigners. The Bhārgavas are also not Gurjaras, nor are the Audichyas Gurjaras for they are declared late-comers and northerners. The Gujarat Brahmins both Nāgars and Bhārgavas are treated as southern Brahmins by themselves. The Kshatriyas too of Gujarat are not Gurjaras. Neither the Valas nor Chāvadas, neither Guhelots nor Jadejas, neither Solankhis nor Chudāsamas call themselves, or believe that they are, Gurjaras. Of course Indian savants call all those people Gurjaras and foreigners in spite of their repudiation, their traditions and history. But their own traditions, as we shall show hereafter, are correct and historical. In fine neither the Kshatriyas nor the Brahmins are or believe themselves to be of Gurjara origin; nor are the common people Gurjaras by ethnology or history. And yet this country has received the name of Gujarat simply because a Gurjara dynasty which in its grants declared itself to be Gurjaras ruled in this part of the country for 200 years from about 550 to 720 A. D. They have left their name supplanting older names viz: Ānarta and Lāta. Their administration seems to have been successful and their rule happy like that of the Valabhis. In fact the very circumstance that there are no details in their history to be recorded shows the happy uneventful character of their rule and hence perhaps the continuous remembrance of their rule as enshrined in the name of the country.

But Gurjaras have probably also left their language impressed on the people and hence their name. The language is undoubtedly northern, Gujarati being more akin to Śauraseni than to Mahārāshtri. Yet originally the Mahārāshtri language seems to have been once predominent in Gujarat. Under the Traikutaka rule that language must have impressed itself on the people; the

written characters and the era were certainly theirs. In Kathiawar and in Gujarat the Jains used the Mahārāshtri for their sacred writings and they still use it. This fact can only be explained by believing that the language of the common people was then Mahārāshtri or some form akin to it. Or the Deccan Jainas seem in centuries older than the sixth to be the chief and prominent Jains in India and Gujarat may have got its Jainism from them and therefore taken up Mahārāshtri for their sacred literature. Whatever the reason may be, the sacred writings of the Jains are in Mahārāshtri as those of the Buddhists are in Pāli. We will leave this question of the ancient language of Gujarat unsolved and merely observe that the modern Gujerati must have been formed from a language used by the Gurjara kings, brought from the north and hence it is akin to the Śauraseni. The name and the language of Gujarat thus date from the 8th century A. D. though this is a point which is disputed by many Gujarati scholars.

The Gurjaras appear to be worshippers of the sun from their grants. This is not strange. There was a temple of the sun in Bhinmal also But this worship of the sun need not indicate the foregin origin of the Gurjaras. In fact sun-worship in India is as old as the Vedas and the most sacred prayer of the Brahmins, the Gāyatri, is addressed to the sun. In later times the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu no doubt became predominant, but sun-worship was never entirely supplanted. As early as 400 B. C. Ktesias mentions that there was a place fifteen days' journey from mount Abu where the people worshipped the sun and the moon. (This place must apparently be somewhere in Marwar. Bombay Gaz. Guj. p. 532). Thus we have a mention of sun-worship even before there was any conquest of India by Persians. The temple of the sun in Marwar probably at Bhinmal we may thus look upon as very old. (The worship of the moon at Prabhāsa is also very old). Kings, therefore, are often described to be great worshipers of the sun, and such kings are found in the Var-

dhana family at Thanesar and the Valabhi family in Kathiawar. Sometimes this family worship is changed in individual kings and some are hence described as Māheśvaras or Bhāgavatas. Sun-worship is even now recognised as a part of the orthodox worship in the Panchāyatana. That the Magas were specially respected appears simply due to the fact that they were worshippers of the sun *only* and in a peculiar way and hence they have gained an access to and a position in the Hindu society. But this does not indicate that every sun-worshipper in India is a Maga or foreigner from Persia. The Gurjaras were, as we have shown before, the ancient Aryans of the second horde of invaders *i.e.* of the moon race and were mostly Vaiśyas *i.e.* those whose avocation was agriculture and cow-breeding the Kṛishi and Gorakshya of the Gita. How they moved from the Panjāb their original home to Bhinmal we shall discuss when speaking of that country.

In the Skanda Purāṇa (which we assign to the 8th century A. D.) three or four famous holy places in Gujarat and Kathiawar are mentioned and there-in many ingenious and imaginary stories about the origin of Tirthas are given. We shall notice them in our next volume. But we may say that Bharukachha on the Nerbudda (the hermitage of Bhṛrigu) the Mahi-Sāgara-Sangama, and Kumari Tritha at Stambha pura (Khambạyat in Gujarati and Cambay in English), Ānandpura of the Nāgara Brahmins and Prabhāsa near the confluence of the (supposed) Sarasvati with the sea, with the temple of Somanatha or the lord of the moon were very famous in those days and highly venerated.

It would be interesting to close this chapter with the mention of the maritime trade carried on at the important seaports of Gujarat viz. Broach, Cambay and Prabhāsa (as noticed by the Gazetteer) even from the most ancient times. The Periplus mentions the following exports and imports of Broach; imports:—wine, bronze, tin and lead, coral and gold stone, cloth of all sorts, variegated sashes, storax, sweet clover, gum, stibium for the eyes, gold and silver coins and unguents; for the kings specially, musical

instruments, handsome girls for the harem (Yavanis), high class wine and apparel. The exports of Barygaza were spikenard, costus, odalbium, ivory, onyxes, porcelain, cotton, silk, silk thread, long pepper (chillies) and other wares. This was in about 100 A. D. Let us compare with this what the Arabs say in the 8th century. Gold and silver mines are said to be worked in Gujarat In spite of India's having plenty of gold and even silver, coins were formerly imported because of their good appearance. For Dinaras were used in Gujarat, a name which is not Indian. Then again teak wood and bamboo of Sindan (Sanjan) were largely exported. Broach lance shafts were famous and prized abroad as also shoes of Cambay (still famous). Emeralds were also exported. (Formerly Yavanis were *imported* and now Tafan fair girls were *exported* for the Arab chiefs, a strange vicissitude.) Import of horses must lastly be noticed. They came from Persia and Arabia. Of course, Broach cotton and cottons were famous still as in the days of the Mahābhārata and must have been exported though cloth of other sorts is mentioned among the imported articles.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

(For this history we have excellent materials viz. copperplate grants and inscriptions and this history has already been compiled by Dr. Bhandarkar. We have added certain observations of our own drawn from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana and from a study of the inscriptions themselves in the original)

The chief kingdoms in the south noticed and visited by Hiuen Tsang were Mahārāshtra, Kānchi, and Konkana, the first having, however, subdued almost all others and established an empire over the peninsula. We shall now go on to describe the history of these kingdoms as far as it is traceable from inscriptions.

The kingly families in all these kingdoms according to our view were what are now called Marathas. It may seem strange but it is a fact which cannot be denied. The modern representatives of these families are found among the Marathas alone. The Chālukyas are Chālke or Solankhi. The Pallavas of Kanchi are now represented by the family surname of Pālave and the Kadambas of Konkanapura or Banavāsi are represented by the Kadams. Thus all the three important kingdoms in the south in the beginning of the 7th century were *Mahārattis* or Marathas or in other words mixed Aryans speaking the Prakrit language Mahārāshtri and originally inhabiting the country round the Godaveri.

This is a fact which has not been seen by many. Some think that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi were Kanarese, in other words Dravidians. Pallavas according to most are a riddle, while the Kadambas are supposed to be a Brahmin family probably of Dravidian origin. But this is not correct. All these three families were by origin Aryan and having mixed themselves with the local sovereign Dravidian families of the Deccan they may be said to have become mixed Aryans. But they still preserved their

Aryan characteristics, Aryan religion and Aryan language as we shall notice further on. To understand their history properly we must take a short resumé of the ancient history of the south beginning with the very advent of the Indo-Aryans into the southern peninsula.

That the Aryans invaded and settled in the Deccan nobody now denies. This event is placed by Dr. Bhandarkar between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana ; i. e. approximately between the 9th and 4th centuries B. C. But it is possible even to go earlier. For Pāṇini explains in a sūtra that Aśmaki is the name of the king as well as the king's son and this Aśmaka in Pāṇini is probably the country about Paithana though Aśmaka as a northern country or people does find a mention in ancient books. The first settlement was Vidarbha or modern Berar. And the next settlement was Paithana or Pratishthāna on the Godavery. The region of the Godavery pleased the invading Aryans so much that this land is praised in many Purānas as the best in the world. The river struck the Aryans forcibly and was at once likened by them to the Ganges of their old country. The town too was named Pratishthāna after its namesake on the Ganges namely modern Prayāga. Thereafter the new-comers settled in many parts further south and the different countries or districts settled were called by the name of Rāshtras. Their names occur in the Mahābhārata list of kingdoms in the Bhīshma Parva chapter 9, namely Pāndu Rāshtra, Gopa Rāshtra and Malla Rāshtra which together with Aśmaka form the modern Mahārāshtra. We shall show further on that Rāshtra was a favourite name with the Mahārāshtras for a district or a small kingdom. Then there was the Kuntala country on the upper course of the Krishna. This country is strangely included both among the countries of the north and the south in the Mahābhārata list i. e. among Aryan countries or countries which had come under Aryan influence and were mixed Aryans in the language of the Mahābhārata as also among the southern mlechchha kingdoms. It was most probably the meeting ground between the Aryans and non-Aryans. The Aryan advance and settlement received a check pro-

bably at the lower Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā beyond which the country was more thickly populated by the Dravidians. The Mahābhārata gives all the countries and people to their south, in a separate list and this list is headed as usual by the noted Dravida peoples Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and so on. These were undoubtedly aboriginal peoples and aboriginal kingdoms i. e. kingdoms which in the beginning did not claim to be Aryans.

Now the question naturally occurs why was the large tract of the country to the north sparsely populated compared with the tract to the south, of the Tungabhadrā? Answer to this natural question is supplied by the story of the Rāmāyana interpreted historically The whole of this tract was certainly covered with forest and was called Dandakāranya. From Chitrakūta down to Rishyamūka in the Malaya mountains (i. e. from Rewa down to Mysore) was Dandakāranya clearly enough. For Rāma could not have taken his abode on Chitrakūta if it was not in Dandakāranya. Now it is possible that the hilly portion of this country was covered with forest in those ancient days down to about 1000 B. C. For it was still covered with forests at the beginning of the British rule; the Vindhya, the Satapuda and the Mahendra mountainous tracts were under forest even so late as 1858 A. D. But why should the level country in Berar or about Paithana and in the Deccan be under forest? It should have been and still is an open country. The explanation is that it was infested by Rākshasas or in historical language by cannibals. Sociology tells us that the man-eating tribes do not prosper and hence this country was only sparsely populated. The Mahārs and the Māngs who subsist on carrion, appear also to be other old inhabitants of this land. The invading and settling Aryans felled the jungle and brought the land under cultivation, retaining the Mahārs and the Māngs (Sanskrit Mātangas) as an out-cast people. It may, therefore, be said that the Aryans did not so much conquer the Deccen as settle it. They killed the few cannibals, cleared the forests and founded towns and villages compelling the Māngs to live as out-casts outside each village. It is

thus that the cultivating population of the Deccan is Aryan. The significance of this fact we shall notice elsewhere. They were not perhaps pure Aryans but mixed Aryans or Yaduvaṁśi Aryans of the second race of invaders called the Lunar race which first settled in Kurukshetra, and then in Śūrasena, Surāshtra, etc. These had already taken Nāga women to wife and were therefore mixed to a large extent.

A second cause of this difference in populousness which may also be noticed here is that the seaboard of a country is usually more fertile though less healthy than the inner tableland and that it is also more prosperous on account of trade. The Dravidian population therefore on the sea-coast of the Madras Presidency was thriving and denser and more advanced than the population of the tableland of the Deccan and it is hence that we find the real Dravidian peoples (treated as Mlechha even in the Mahābhārata) settled all along the coast viz. Chola, Dravida, Pāndya and Kerala, (Kalabhras ?) on the eastern and western coast upto Malabar. There were Kalinga and Andhra on the eastern coast and Konkan on the western higher up. But the former two had come before the Mahābhārata under Aryan influence though not completely settled by the Aryans and they are included in the list of northern kingdoms or peoples in the Mahābhārata, while Konkana was not yet in the days of the Mahābhārata under Aryan influence and hence is given in the southern list, only a part viz. Aparānta or modern Northern Konkan being mentioned in the north.

Such was the condition then about 300 B. C. the date of the Mahābhārata in its last form. The same thing appears to be true of later centuries. The Rāshtrikas Poithanikas and *Assakas* mentioned in Aśoka's edicts are all Deccan Aryan people now being called Mahārathis or Mahārattis as can be seen from the Nasik cave inscriptions. The Periplus and Ptolemy also call this country Ariake or the country of the Aryans and mention three parts of it viz. the western coast, now come under Aryan

influence and Aryan speech and the Mahārāshtra and Kuntala presumably, as they are called in later Sanskrit with Paithan and Kolhapur or Karahāta as their chief towns. The kings through all these days i. e. from the earliest settlements down to Aśoka's time were of course Aryans and Mahārathis. But we come now to the Śātavahanas or Andhrabhrityas from the first century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. as overlords of all this vast country including Konkan, Mahārāshtra, Kuntala and even further south as far as Banavāsi.

Who were these Śātavāhanas? Were they mixed Aryans or non-Aryans, Marathas or Dravidas? That is the next question, difficult yet important, which has not yet been answered. As we solved the first question by the aid of the Rāmāyana, we will try to solve this question by the aid of inscriptions and the Purānas. The latter call them Śudras. The popular tradition which of course is usually absurd with some truth behind it tells us that Śātavāhana or Śalivahana was born of a Brahmin girl from Śesha or the sacred Serpent. The Āndhras appear to be distinct from the other Dravidians. They came under Aryan influence very early and their country is mentioned (as we have seen) in the Mahābhārata among the northern i. e. Aryan or mixed Aryan peoples and not among the southern mlechchhas. Were the Āndhras Nāgas? Apparently the Nāga population is still predominant in the Nagpur division which is contiguous to the Āndhra or Telagu country. The Telagu Brahmins are unquestionably Aryans and have still marriage relations with the Mahārāshtra Brahmins. The Telagu Kshatriyas so to speak have however no marriage relations with the Maratha Kshatriyas*. It may be surmised that the Śatavahana family was a family belonging to the Nāga race which became predominant in the middle country by conquering Pātaliputra about the middle of the 1st century B. C.—and conquered Mahārāshtra also. They made Pratishthāna or Paithana their capital as it

* The Āndhra Kshatriyas however were probably the descendants of the same mixed Aryans from whom the Marathas are descended. See note on Aryan Advance in the South added further on.

must have been the capital already of Mahārāshtra during the times of Aśoka and earlier kings and thus made it the centre of an extensive empire. They called themselves Āndhrabhṛityas because they still owed allegiance to the Āndhra original seat of power at Dhanakataka. But Paithana was their favourite seat. Being the capital of a vast empire extending from the north to the south of India (from Patna to Mysore) Paithana became famous and a centre of commerce and of rich manufactures. Hence its fame in the days of Ptolemy and hence the name Paithaṇi in Marathi designating a silk gold bordered cloth. The Śatavahanas also appear to have been learned men themselves and patrons of learned men. And Paithaṇa became the chief seat of learning in India next only to Benares. Paithaṇa retained this predominance throughout the succeeding centuries down even to the end of the Mahomedan power. Maratha kingdoms after the Śātavāhanas never ruled in Paithaṇa. But their new capitals Vātāpi or Mānkhed, Kalyān or Devagiri never rose to the importance of Paithana which still remained the chief place in Mahārāshtra for learning and for rich manufactures. Strangely enough, its pre-eminence remained so far recognised that even during Mahomedan and Maratha times complicated cases were settled at Paithana under the Panchayats of its learned men. All this pre-eminence is of course due to its being the capital of the extensive empire of the Śātavāhanas who therefore must have been thoroughly orthodox Hindus although some kings of the family may have extended patronage to Buddhists also.

They were, as we have said, originally of the Nāga race but they appear to have married Kshatriya wives. The Śakas of Ujjain a foreign people, yet perfectly Hinduised, were predominant beyond the Nerbudda, and it appears from inscriptions that Rudradāman's daughter was married to a Śātavāhana king. That is not strange. For Chandragupta married a daughter of a Yavana king Śūdra, nay even Kshatriya kings may take Mlechha girls in marriage. But it is strange that the Śātavāhana Nāga kings were

given Kshatriya daughters, as appears quite clear. For what is the significance of the name Gautamīputra and Vaishthīputra which appear so conspicouously in their inscriptions? The epithets admittedly mean son of a queen born of the Gotama or Vasishṭha gotra. Was the name of the gotra of the queen mother of importance? They were certainly not Brahmin women for their mention would not be of importance. It therefore seems that they were daughters of well-known Kshatriya kingly families in the Deccan. And the Śātavāhanas lower as they themselves were in the social scale deemed it honourable to mention the gotra of their Kshatriya mothers. The mention of the gotra of the mother was not a new thing to Aryans. We find in the Brihadāranya Upanishad in the Vamśaṣ so many names given by the gotra of the mother e. g. सांजीवीपुत्र, गौतमीपुत्र, वार्कारुणीपुत्र and so on. (See बृहदारण्य वंश VIII 5) And even in modern times Rajput kings call their queens by their honoured father's families such as Rāthoḍani, Chohāni and so on. A queen born of a royal family would insist on her gotra being mentioned and hence we surmise that these Sātavāhanas married Maratha Kshatriya daughters, and honourably mentioned their gotras. It also follows that these Maratha Kshatriya royal families had particular gotras which they then carefully remembered and proclaimed The Śātavāhana marriage relations thus give a historical basis of very old standing to the generally accepted three Vamśas among the Maratha Kshatriyas viz: Sūrya, Soma and Nāga. There were Nāgavamśi Maratha Kshatriyas in later history of the seventh century also as we shall notice hereafter.

We now come to the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. How the Śātavāhana rule came to an end we do not know. By the usual decrepitude which, from history, overtakes every royal family after two or three hundred years, these Sātavāhanas from the 1st century B. C. to the end of the 2nd century A. D. flourished at Paithaṇa and then declined. Before 500 A. D. i. e. during a period of 300 years we do not definitely know what happened in Mahā-

rāshtra. Dr. Bhandarkar has held that there must have been petty Marātha kingdoms among whom the Rāshtrakuṭa family was one. Of this family we shall speak later on.

But we can make another surmise.* We believe that the heart of Mahārāshtra at least, viz. Paithaṇa and the country around came under the sway of the Vākātakas. This was a Brahmin family ruling in the present Nāgpur division as appears from their many inscriptions found. Their founder Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in an inscription in the Ajanta caves which Dr. Bhau Daji had the honour to first decipher, though Dr. Bhau Daji's surmise that this Vindhyasakti was the same as is mentioned in Vishṇu Purāṇa is not correct as we shall show in the chapter on Āndhra history. These Vākātakas held extensive sway over the northern part of Mahārāshtra and Aśmaka was under their suzerainty, a subordinate king of Aśmaka being also mentioned in these cave inscriptions. The original founder of the Vākātaka family and his immediate successors were certainly orthodox Aryans who performed the Aśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices. But the people of the Vākātaka country and some ministers of the family were Buddhists and these built many caves at Ajanta. This Buddhist tendency of the ministers and the people naturally led to the reassertion of the orthodox religion under Rāshtrakūtas and Chālukyas in the sixth century A. D. For as usual these Chālukyas signalise their rising power by performing the Aśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices.

Coming to our period of Indian history and the Chālukyas in Mahārāshtra, we may first observe that it is difficult to decide whether the Chālukya family was founded by a Kshatriya warrior from Ayodhya as later inscriptions declare or whether it was a local Maratha family. The earliest grants give only the information that the Chālukya family was of the Mānavya gotra and were Hāritīputras. The importance of this latter epithet will appear clear from what we have said above about Gauta-

* The same surmise is made by G. Jouveau Dubreuil in his book Ancient History of the Deccan recently issued p. 71.

mīputra and Vasishthīputra. In fact this epithet Hāritīputra connects the Chālukya tradition with the Śatavāhana forms of titles. This family was certainly Kshatriya both on the father's side and on the mother's. The gotra of the founder of the family was Mānaya on the father's side and Harita on the mother's side and hence the family takes pride in calling itself Haritiputra as well as Mānayasagotra. It rose to power according to earlier grants by conquering Govinda a Rāshtrakūta king. Its greatest representative Pulakeśin the first performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice so characteristic of the Kshatriya race and power. It also indicates as we have said, that this family came to power by opposing Buddhistic tendencies and by establishing the ascendancy of the Vedic religion much in the same way as the rise of the Guptas in the north may be said to represent the ascendancy of the orthodox Vedic Aryans, against the Buddhists of the north. These Guptas, though Vaiśyas apparently, also performed the Aśvamedha. In the same way the first assertion of power by this Pulakeśin Kshatriya Maratha king was the celebration of the Aśvamedha a fact of which the family appears to have been proud and always made mention.

That these Chālukyas were not Dravidians or Kanarese as their capital Bādāmi would induce some to believe is quite clear from the fact that Hiuen Tsang states that Pulakeśin was a Kshatriya and that he reigned in Mahārāshtra. In fact, as stated before, when an empire falls the provinces are usally seized by great officers and feudatory chiefs and we may thus explain the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas, the Chālukyas, the Kadambas, and the Pallavas all Mahārāshtra or Marathi speaking Aryan Kshatriya families. The Kadambas were also of the same race as the Chālukyas. They claimed to be of the Mānavya gotra and sons of a Hārita-gotra mother. They could have therefore no marriage relations with the Chālukyas, but with other Maratha kingly families. The later legends of both we shall presently discuss. The Kadambas had possession of Banavāsi and Konkanapura. The Pallavas simply

called themselves of the Bhāradvāja gotra and had possession of Vengi and other eastern districts of the Śātavāhanas. We shall speak of their rise in the next chapter. And now we may discuss the origin of the Chālukyas as given by their later documents and tradition.

This tradition is given in the grants of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi. The legend given by Bilhana in the Vikramānkadevacharita in the time of the later Chālukyas we may at once set aside as absurd and imaginary. Bilhaṇa poetically changes the name Chālukya into Chaulukya and says that the first progenitor was born from the chulūka or handful of Brahmā who, as he was giving water-oblations, was approached by Indra and requested to create a warrior to punish irreligious men in the Kali age. The Eastern Chālukya tradition is not poetical but is genealogical and as mentioned in their inscriptions is as follows. (See e. g. Ranastute grant of Vimalāditya No. 36 p. 357 Ep. Ind. Vol VI). First we have the genealogy of the whole lunar vamśa given from the moon through the Pandavas down to Udayana (we will discuss this genealogy in a note) and then we are told :—"After 59 kings (Chakravartis) in unbroken line had ruled in Ayodhya, a descendant by name Vijayāditya came to the south with a desire to conquer the Deccan. He had a fight with Trilochana Pallava and was killed in battle. His queen being pregnant was received by one Vishnubhatta Somayāji in a Brahmin Agrahāra. There she gave birth to a prince named Vishnuvardhana. The priest performed all the ceremonies necessary on the birth of a Kshatriya of the मानव्यगोत्र and हारितीपुत्र* This prince having learnt everything of his family, performed austerities on the *chālukya mountain* and having propitiated the goddess Gauri and Kumāra and Nārāyaṇa got through their favour white umbrella, Eka-Śankha, the five great Śabda, Pālikotana, Pratidhakkā, Varāha Lānchhana, Panchakānta Sinhāsana, Makara Toraṇa, Kanakadanda and Gangā Yamunā and other signs of royalty of his family and having conquered

* मानव्यसगोत्रहारितिपुत्रस्य क्षत्रगोत्रक्रमोचितानि कर्माणि कारयित्वा समवर्धयत् ।

Kadamba, Ganga and others ruled the whole of Dakshināpatha, from Setu to the Nerbudda, of 7½ lakhs. Vijayāditya was born of this Vishṇuvardhana king from a Pallava princess His son was Bollakeshi Vallabha. His son was Kīrtivarman." Here curiously enough the newly added portion ends and the grant begins again with the traditional beginning of Chālukya grants स्वस्तिश्रीमतां सकलभुवन-संस्तूयमान-मानव्यसगोत्राणां etc to सत्याश्रयवल्लभस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादशवर्षाणि वेङ्गीदेशमपालयत् । Now in this added part at the beginning, the only credible part appears to be that Vijayāditya came from Ayodhyā after 59 generations from Udayana. If Udayana be placed in 600 B. C. we have 59 generations or 1180 years after him, thus assigning Vijayāditya to about 580 A. D. This is late by about a hundred years. Of course the average of 20 years for a king, over 59 generations cannot give us an exact date and hence we may say that Vijayāditya's coming to the Deccan is probable.

All else is fable. The early grants of the Chālukyas' do not state whether they were of the Lunar race or Solar race. Eastern Chālukya tradition finally assigned them to the Lunar. But even this tradition as recorded in this grant of 933 Śaka or 1011 A. D. cannot explain the meaning of Haritiputra in the usual formula of the Chālukya kings. Then again the fight between Chālukya and Pallava kings being a hereditary fight in later years may be taken to be reflected back to the first king and so their also marriage relations In fact Chālukyas and Pallavas like England and France in the middle ages were always fighting and always marrying one another's daughters Lastly, the story of the founder of a dynasty being born fatherless of a mother in adversity and then gaining power by the favour of gods is the usual story in every dynasty and may therefore be treated as imaginary. It is not untrue that Kshatriya warriors often came from the north to seek fortune in the south and founded families like the forefather of Śivaji and others, yet as this theory is given in a later grant we will confine ourselves to the grants of the earlier Chālukyas themselves and give their history as it appears from them.

From these the Chālukyas appear to be a Maratha Kshatriya family of the Mānavya gotra. The founder was also a Haritīputra i. e. son of a Kshatriya princess born in the Harita gotra. The Aihole inscription of this family is very detailed. From it and other grant-inscriptions it appears that Jayasinha was the first king who made himself conspicuous by conquering the Rāshtrakūta family. His son was Ranarāga. His son was Pulakesin the first who founded the kingdom of Mahārāshtra and performed an Aśvamedha. He made Vātāpi his capital and conquering many provinces, established an overlordship. He assumed the title of Satyāśraya Prithvīvallabha. This title Vallabha became the patronymic with all Mahārāshtra kings in later times and was also favourite with foreigners. They also called themselves Āśraya of something as Śryāśraya, Janāsraya and so on. The date of Pulakeśin's death may be taken to be Śaka 489 or A. D. 567.

He was succeeded by his son Kīrtivarman who conquered the Kadambas of North Kanara and the Mauryas of North Konkan. He was succeeded (in 591 A. D.) by his brother Mangalīśa. He conquered the Chedis of Tripura near Jubbulpur. He was lord of the country from sea to sea (Western to the Eastern). After him (in 610 A.D.) came Pulakeśin the second, the greatest monarch of this line; he was the son of Kīrtivarman. His exploits are extolled by the Aihole grant. He conquered the Pallavas of Kānchī and in fact became the lord of the whole of Dakshiṇāpatha i. e. from the Nerbudda to Cape Kamorin. He was the direct "lord of the three Mahārāshtras containing 99000 villages." And his greatest exploit was that he defeated Harsha Emperor of the North. He was visited by Hiuen Tsang whose most flattering description of him and his Marathas we have already quoted. In fact this was the most flourishing period of ancient Maratha history. He conquered many kings in the West, also, such as kings of Lāta, Gurjara and Mālava. He established his brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhan in the Vengi country on the east

coast where these Eastern Chālukyas continued to rule for a long time. And he established his other brother Jayasinha in the Lāta country where the Gujarat Chālukya branch like the Gaikwads in modern Maratha history ruled for a long time His eldest son Chandrāditya ruled in Sāwantwâdi and Goa where the latter's queen made grants recorded on copperplates. Another son of his ruled in Karnatak between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. A grant of Pulakeśin II has been found made at the request of his maternal uncle Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family. This was a well-known family in these parts viz. Chiplun etc. and is probably the same as the modern Scindia family of Gwalior. In fact, the Pulakeśin Maratha empire of 736 A. D. was just a protolype of the Shahu Maratha Empire of 1736 A. D., a thousand years later, curiously illustrating the well-known maxim history repeats itself.

Pulakeśin II's reign has become memorable owing to two events of foreign importance. He received an embassy from Khushru II of Persia in reply to one sent by him. A painting in cave No. 1 at Ajantā represents the scene of the reception of this embassy by Pulakeshin (625 A. D). The second event was the visit of Hiuen Tsang who has recorded a most flattering description of the Marathas and the power of this king who, as he says, "was obeyed with perfect submission by his many subjects" in (640 A. D.)

Sir V. Smith observes that this king was unfortunate in his end. He was conquered eventually by his enemy the Pallava of Kānchi "who took and plundered his capital and presumably put him to death." The authority for this is apparently a record of the Pallavas which may be of doubtful credit, and Dr. Bhandarkar does not relate this event in his history of the Deccan; for he merely states that Pulakeśin was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya I. This king Vikramāditya certainly inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallavas and took their capital Kānchi though he did not plunder it. He even built and repaired certain temples in Kānchi which is still famous for its

great temples. He was a valorous conqueror. "Seated on the back of his horse Chitrakantha and sword in hand he vanquished his enemies and established his power like his father between the three seas." He is rightly named Vikramāditya I.

He was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in Śaka 602 or 680, A. D. He has left three grants dated 611, 613 and 616 Śaka in his 10th, 11th and 14th years of reign. Thus his date is certain. He was also a powerful king and a warrior. He had assisted his father in his famous fight with the Pallavas, who were assisted by Pāndya, Chola and Kerala. He in his own time vanquished these and Kalabhra, Haihaya, Nila and Mālava,* and made them steadfast allies as also Ganga and Alūpa and even Sinhala. He defeated likewise a king of the north whose name is not given; (this event we shall try to explain later). These facts are mentioned in the records of his descendants and must have happened after Śaka 616 (694 A. D.) the date of his last grant found (Bhandarkar). He died in 696 A. D.

He (Vinayāditya) was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya who also has left many grants which give us an idea of his reign. In one conflict with the Pallavas he was taken prisoner by accident though he had defeated his enemies. He, however, contrived to escape and returning to his kingdom ruled vigorously for a long time. As we have said in the history of Kashmir, this must have happened a little before the *digvijaya* expedition into the south by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Lalitāditya did not go to Vātāpi as Vātāpi and Mahārāshtra seem to have been then under the Pallavas during Vijayādityas confinement. The two dates agree. Vijayāditya came to the throne in 696 A. D. and had a long reign of 36 years i. e. upto 732 A. D. Lalitāditya's expedition happened as we have shown from about 702 A. D. to 710 A. D. Vijayāditya built temples to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva at Vātāpi in 621 Śaka (see inscriptions). His grants are dated 622, 627 and 651 Śaka in the 4th, 10th and 34th years of his reign.

* These Malavas appear to be some south Deccan people whose name survives in the modern Maratha surname 'Mālapa'.

Vijayāditya was succeeded in 733 A. D. by his son Vikramāditya II who was an equally successful king. He defeated his old enemies the Pallavas, their king being Nandipotavarman. Kānchī was again entered and again spared. The king restored on the contrary to the famous temples of Rājasinheśvara and other gods, gold, jewels and other property taken away by many. He married two sisters of the family of Haihayas and these two queens built two temples in their names at Vātāpi. He reigned for 14 years i. e. down to 747 A. D.

He was followed by his son Kīrtivarman II who was the last of the early Chālukya kings. He has left one grant dated 679 Śaka. He seems to have been an able prince and as usual defeated the Pallavas their hereditary enemies. But he was overthrown by one of his own vassals a Rāshtrakūta king named Dantigurga. As the Rāstrakūtas did not hereafter reign in Vātāpi, it may be taken that they allowed the Chālukyas to remain as depenaents in their own town. This event happened before 675 Śaka, as in a grant by Dantidurga dated 675 Śaka the Chālukyas are spoken of as overthrown. Thus the Chālukya overlordship lasted down to about 753 A. D. and they may be taken to have been supreme in the Deccan for about 200 years from 550 to 753 A. D. All the Chālukya kings appear to have been capable rulers, a fact which is creditable and perhaps singular and we need not wonder that lying dormant for about 200 years, they again gained ascendancy under the later Chālukyas. An explanation for this downfall of the early Chālukyas will be given in our next volume which we will speak of the rise of the Rāshtrakutas.

Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that during the rule of the early Chālukyas Buddhism does not seem to have been prosperous. It was alive no doubt, but it was not the religion of the kings nor generally of the people. In fact according to our view already expressed it was as a rise against Buddhism whose ascendancy is marked by the Ajantā caves under the Vākātakas that the Maratha

power under the Chālukyas was triumphant. Pulakeshin I signalised his reign and supremacy by the performance of the Aśvamedha. The sacrificial *lore* was also studied and developed under these kings by learned Brahmins and such learned persons, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, were specially called Svāmins. Karkasvāmin and others were certainly commentators on sacrificial sutras. But Svāmin need not be a special name for such Brahmins. Dikshita was a title specially given to the Brahmins learned in sacrificial lore and performers of Vedic sacrifices. It does not also appear that sacrificial literature was studied in the Deccan alone. The revival of sacrificial study can be marked all over the country, for Bāna himself states that his parents and uncles were great students of Mimānsa. They were called Bhattas also. Śabarasvāmin and Kumarilabhatta the well-known writers on Vedic sacrifice belong to the north. We shall have to speak of them later on. Undoubtedly orthodox Brahmins in the Deccan as elsewhere at this time employed their intelligence in the refutation of Buddhism and in the vindication of Vedic sacrifices, and under the sympathetic rule of the early Chālukyas they succeeded in supplanting Buddhism completely.

But the influence of the principle of non-sacrifice was again successful latterly in the spread of Jainism. It appears that the Jainas gained an upperhand among the people as well as in the favour of kings towards the end of the Chālukya rule. Jainism is even now prevalent in the population of the southern Maratha country. In the heart of Mahārāshtra, Jainism could not prosper, for the heredity and natural patriotism of a people tend towards the religion of their ancestors and hence among the Marathas generally the Vedic Aryan religion still prospered. But in the varied population of the south Jainism spread. Vikramāditya II was partial to the Jaina religion. He repaired a Jain temple and gave a grant of land to a successful Jain Pandit named Vijaya Pandita who was also called Ekavādi or the only disputant (Bhandarkar). The Jain Pandits of those days, drawn of course from renegade

Brahmins were very ingenious and learned disputants and they often scored success in religious disputes about the principle of Ahimsa. The modern Jains of the S. M. country are, however, not learned being usually cultivators and recruits from among the Brāhmiṇs do not now join their ranks. But in the days of the early Chālukyas the case appears to have been different and Jainism gradually spead among the people and gained favour in royal courts. The religious tendencies of this period will be discussed in our next volume.

Along with the revival of the religion of Vedic sacrifices under the early Chālukyas there was also the revival of the Puranic religion viz. the worship of Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Surya, and the Goddess Devi and of Skanda and temples of these gods were built everywhere during the reign of the early Chāḷukyas. The rule of the next dynasty of the Rāshtrakūtas was to signalise the further progress of Hinduism as it may now be distinctly called.

Socially the Chālukyas appear to have been strict Kshatriyas marrying among the families of the Aryans and mixed Aryans. Their marriage relations were with the Haihayas, the Rāshṭrakūtās, the Pallavas and Sendrakas or Sindas who belonged to the Nāgavamśa, perhaps of Śatavahana. They do not appear to have married among the Dravidian families of Pāndya. Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and others. So far as can be seen, the queens of the Chālukyas appear to come from Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra and even North India and they ranked as true Kshatriyas as distinctly declared by Hiuen Tsang himself. They insisted on their being described as Mānavya-sagotra and Haritīputra and they clearly appear to have performed Vedic rites. In short nothing has been discovered which should dissuade us from treating them as Aryans and Kshatriyas and the equals of the northern Kshatriyas, the Rajputs. Why the northerners and the southerners stopped marriage relations hereafter, we shall have to discuss later on.

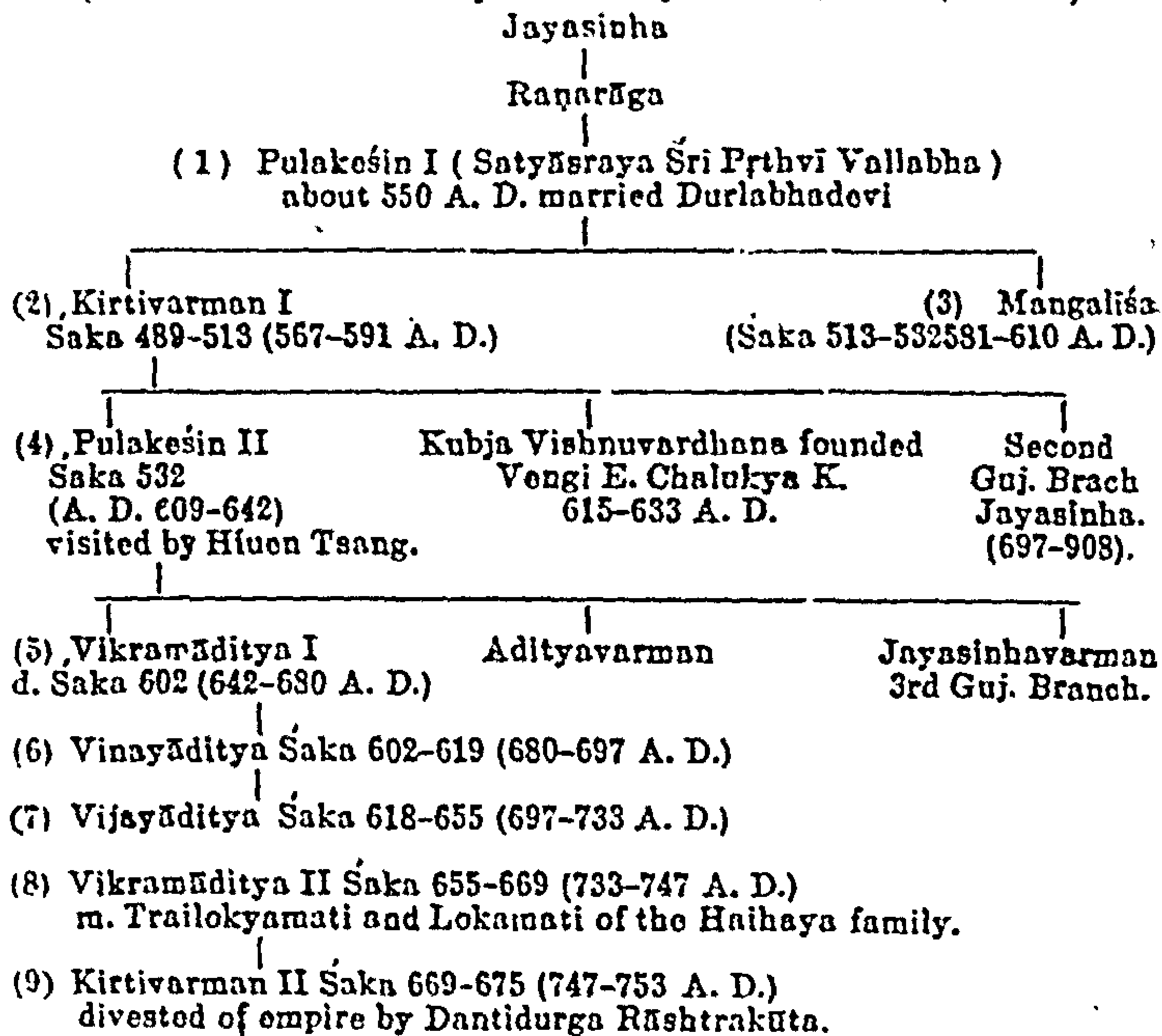
The Chālukyas ruled over the three Mahārāshtras viz. Vidarbha, Mahārāshtra and Kuntala. Their territory thus included Berar and the Marathi districts of C. P., Marathi districts of the Nizam's dominions and those of the Bombay Presidency and curiously enough also included the Kanarese districts of Bombay. These last have always been parts of the Mahārāshtra kingdom with whomsoever it may be and have therefore properly been called Southern Maratha country. Even under Vijapur these districts were with the Mahomedans and not with Vijayanagar. The Eastern coast was under the Vengi Chālukya branch and Āndhra perhaps was independent. Sometimes Āndhra too came under Mahārāshtra. The declared number of villages in the three Mahārāshtras was 99000 (see Aihole inscription) and Āndhra had 12000 villages. These numbers of villages were, as already stated, traditionally fixed and appear to have always been mentioned in records ranging from 600 to 1200 A. D. i. e. the period we are treating of. Pulakeshin II was, however, the master of the whole of the south from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, a country of 7½ lakhs as stated in inscriptions. This number is inexplicable. For even adding the probable number of villages in Pallava, Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Ganga, Kadamba and other kingdoms towards the south, the number cannot come up to 7½ lakhs. To what this figure applies is a mystery as shown in a previous note.

The Chālukyas used the Śaka era throughout their supremacy. In fact from 500 A. D. or 422 Śaka (the date of Varāha Mihira's Siddhānta) onwards roughly, the Śaka era is generally used in the south by most kingdoms. The reason probably is that the astronomers of India who propounded the Siddhāntas which are the basis of modern astronomical calculations in India adopted the Śaka era for calculation. According to our view, these Siddhāntas were the result of the study of astronomy at Ujjain with the help and guidance of Greek astronomy (which is plainly incorporated into Indian ancient astronomy) under the rule of the Śakas. Āryabhatta and Varāhamihira and later, Brahmagupta promulgated the new Siddhānta system.

It was adopted all over India, and the Śaka era became commonly recognised. The Chālukya rule began after these Siddhāntas and accepted the Śaka era without scruple. In the north the Gupta era had been established before the astronomical Siddhāntas, and as the Guptas destroyed the Śakas themselves, they did not take up the Śaka era but continued to use their own Gupta era. After the Guptas, Harsha's era came into use. These two eras, however, were gradually supplanted in the north by the Vikrama Samvat whose success we shall endeavour to explain when relating the later history of the north. In the south, Śaka era has remained supreme and the Aihole inscription uses both the Śaka and the Kaliyuga eras, a fact plainly indicating the ascendency of the new astronomical Siddhāntas.

EARLY CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

(From Gazetteer Bombay Presidency-Deccan, Vol. I part II.)



NOTE

THE FLIGHT OF VIJAYĀDITYA

The line of the Western Chálukyas of Bādāmi does not appear to have been completely extinguished with Vikramāditya II's son Kirtivarman II. We have a very detailed and important grant of the latter (Vakkaleri grant published in Ind. Ant. Vol VIII. p. 23) which shows the kingdom still surviving and reigning over a large territory. This grant is dated in Śaka 679 and in the 11th year of Kirtivarma II's reign. Thus it is clear that he came to the throne in 668 Śaka or 746 or 747 A. D. and this is the year of the end of the reign of Vikramaditya II. It may therefore be taken as certain that it was not Vikramaditya II who was overthrown by the Rāshtrakūtas but his son Kirtivarma II. Vikramāditya II appears to have been a valiant king and can scarcely be believed to have been so unfortunate. If this grant is believed and we do not see why it should not be, we have a consistent and detailed account of the whole Chālukya family of Bādāmi. The grant begins with the usual formula of Chālukya grants (मानव्यसगोत्राणां etc.) and mentions first Pulakeśin I Prithvīvallabha. His great praise is that he performed the Aśvamedha. His son is next mentioned as Kirtivarman I and his chief exploit is given as the conquest of Banavāsi. His son was Pulakeśin II whose defeating Harsha of Kanauj gave him the title of Parameśvara and obtained for him high renown. His son Vikramāditya I is mentioned as riding on his favourite horse Chitra-Kantha conquering Chola, Kerala, Pāndya, Kalabhra kings and humbling the Pallava who had thus bowed to none, adding the title Bhattāraka. Then his son Vinayāditya I is noticed who even as Yuvarāja conquered and made tributaries Kuvera, Pārasika, and Sinhala Dvipa and who conquering the lord of the north acquired Pālidhvaja and other emblems of an emperor. Then follows Vijayāditya who even in his grandfather's time conquered many chiefs of the south and who assisted his father in his conflict with the kings of the north and obtained for him emblems of empire such as Gangā Yamunā, Pāliddhvaja and Dhakkā as also Mānikya and Matangaja. And here we have a mention of a every interesting incident in the life of Vijayāditya. The words here are not properly translated and the importance of the story is lost. The words are परैः पलायमानैरासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतो प्रतापादेव विषयप्रकोप अराजकमुत्सारयन् परमराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायकस्तद्वद्धाशिर्गत्य स्वभुजावष्टम्भपरसाधिताशेषविश्वंभरः" This clearly shows that he was seized by his enemies though they had been put to flight, by some bad stroke of fortune and was confined but that like the famous Vatsarāja of the Kathāsaritsāgara (who escaped from Ujjain by a stratagem of his minister) he managed to escape from his confinement and prevented the distress of his country caused by there being no king.

It is to be regretted that we have no detailed account anywhere of this wonderful escapade like the account of the abovementioned Vatsarāja or the account given by Kalhana of the escape of Jayāpīda of Kashmir who later than Vijayāditya fell into a similar misfortune in Nepal. Where, when, and by whom he was confined we do not kn.w, nor how he escaped. We have above recorded our guess that this event must have happened about the time of the Digvijaya of Lalitāditya into the south i e about 700 to 710 A. D. To proceed, however, the grant lastly refers to the greatness of his son Vikramāditya II who carrying out a long family enmity made a vigorous attempt to conquer Kāñchi, defeated the Pallava Nandipotavarman, entered Kānchi, propitiated the Brahmins there by genrous gifts, placed heaps of gold before the Rājasinheśvara idol in the great temple built by Narasinhavarman and defeated the traditional Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra kings of the south, even going further and raising a Jayastambha on the southern most sea-coast. His son the donor Kīrtivarman's exploit is related as having set out to conquer the family enemy the king of Kānchī who unable to withstand him in the plains took refuge in a stronghold he brought back many elephants and gems as booty. He gave a village while encamped on the banks of the Bhīmarathi (Bhima) to a learned Brahmin in the Pannagala vishaya (not identified). This grant thus is interesting and gives the principal event in each reign of the Chālukya line. As no later grants of his are found we may surmise that the line ended with Kirtivarman II, to revive again after two centuries under the later Chālukyas.

CHAPTER X

THE PALLAVAS OF KĀNCHĪ

(For the materials of this history we have mainly to rely on south Indian inscriptions and grants which are numerous enough and which have been interpreted by great scholars like Hultsch, Venkayya and others, and especially by the French antiquarian Dubreuil of Pondichery. We have however to put forward our own theory on one important point based on these very ancient records.)

Along with the Chālukyas, the Pallavas were the most powerful people in the south who contended with them for the overlordship of the southern empire during the seventh and the eighth centuries A. D. They were settled at Kānchī (modern Conjeverum) in the midst of the traditional Dravidian peoples, the Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Kalabhra whom they had subdued. But they were evidently not one of them. They were outsiders in the Madras Presidency, so to speak, of those days. They did not even speak the language of the Dravidian people. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kānchī in 639 A. D. distinctly states that the people of Kānchī spoke a language similar to that of Mid-India. The same position is supported by the fact that the records of these Pallavas are all of them in Sanskrit and not in any Dravidian language as those of the Chola, Pāndya and Kerala kings are. In fact the records of the early Pallavas are even in the Prakrit as we shall presently show. The Pallavas, therefore, were evidently out-siders in the Madras Presidency from the north. Who were they ?

The theory first propounded, though now given up, was that they were the Palhavas of the Purāṇas, the Pehlavas of the Parsis, the Palhavas who came to India with the Śakas of Kathiawar and others. It was suggested that when Gautamīputra Pulumāyi in the second century A. D. drove away Śaka, Yavana and Pahlava peoples from Mahārāshtra as recorded in the Nasik caves, the last instead of being driven back to the north succeeded in getting

further into the south and founded a kingdom at Kānchī. This theory based upon the similarity of names has now been given up and the Pallavas are now supposed to be some people between the Krishna and the Godāvari, while Sir V. Smith in his Early History 3rd Edn. simply says that they were an indigenous tribe, clan or caste (p. 469). Although it is not necessary, therefore, to state the reasons against the *Pahlava* theory, yet for the sake of completeness we may as well see what these reasons are. In the first place if Pulumāyi defeated the Pahlavas, he would not certainly allow them to push forward into his own dominions to the south, for we know that the Śātavāhana rule in those days extended far into the south even as far as Mysore. Secondly in Sanskrit orthography which is most perfect, Pahlava with an *h* cannot be confounded with Pallava. Even in Manu and the Purāṇas the name of these foreign mlechhas is given as Pahlava (*with an h*) and in Persian too it is clearly Pehlavi i. e. with *h* distinct. It may perhaps be supposed that in Prakrit the *h* may have been omitted. But it is not so. Even in the Prakrit inscription of Gautamīputra Pulumāyi the name given is spelt as Pahlava (see Ep. Ind. Vol. III Nasik cave Ins. p. 60). Thirdly if the Pahlavas on coming to India had taken up a mid-Indian language it must have been so only recently and hence when they established themselves at Kānchi, they could not have retained it. For even now the Dravidian languages round about Kānchī are too strong for any new language to withstand them. For these reasons the Pallavas are not the Pahlavas. They cannot also be some people between the Krishna and the Godavari for their language could not have been mid-Indian in that case also. They must have been people from the Aryan population of the north of India.

It seems that they were a branch of the same Aryan people who had settled in Mahārāshtra. In fact Pallava dominion in Kānchī in ancient times was just like Maratha dominion in Tanjore in modern history.* The Pallavas

* Even Sir Vincent Smith is struck with this similarity and gives expression to it see p. 470 (S. E. H. 3rd Edn.)

were Mahārāshtra Aryans who spoke Mahārāshtri Prakrit for centuries and hence retained it even in Kānchī in the midst of surrounding Dravidian languages. They may even be said to be Marathas for their name is still preserved in the Maratha family name of Pālave (which is just the Prakrit form of Pallava). And a further corroboration is that the gotra of the Pālave Maratha family, as we have shown before, is Bhāradvāja, the same as the one which the Pallavas take to themselves in their records. And Hiuen Tsang calls Narasinha Varman a Kshatriya. The Pallavas, therefore, were certainly mid-Indian Aryans gradually passing into the south through Mahārāshtra.

We now go on to relate Pallava history as may be gathered from inscriptions and grants. Mr. Venkayya has rightly shown that this history must be divided into two parts the earlier and the later. In fact as this history extends from about 200 A. D. to 800 A. D. we cannot expect that the Pallava domination could have lasted so long. Like the Chālukyas the Pallavas may therefore be divided into two branches the earliar Pallavas and the later Pallavas. We are in our period concerned with the later Pallavas, the contemporaries of the earlier Chālukyas; but we will give here the history of the earlier Pallavas also (such as can be gathered,) for the sake of completeness especially as it has not yet been given any where and as in our opinion it connects the Pallavas with Mahārāshtra.

I—THE EARLIER PALLAVAS

Speaking first of the earlier Pallavas then, the first thing to be noticed about them is that they used the Prakrit language for their inscriptional records which in the south is really strange. Only three inscriptions or grants have been found as yet and we give one of them is extenso below* for

* The Mayida—volu. plates of Pallava Śiva Skandavarman.Ep. Ind. Vol. VI page 88.

[कां] चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो भारदायसगोत्तो पल्वानं शिवस्कन्दवम्मो धनंकडे वापतं आनपयति अह्मेहि दानी अह्मेजयिके [धं] मात्युवल्लयनिके य बाम्हनानं अगिवेससगोत्तस पुवकोडुजस अगिवेससगोत्तस गोनंदिजस अंध पति(थी) यगामो विरिपरं अह्मेहि उदकादि संपदतो एतस गामस विरिपरस सव बामदेयपरिहारो वितराम अलोन [खा] दकं अभटपवेस अकुरचोल्कनिवासिसतासंवासं एत्त्वी अनेहिच सव बम्हदेयमजादाय सवपरिहारेहि परिहारितो परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च जो अम्हसासनं आतिछितून पीला बाधेकरेज्ञा [वात] कारापेज्ञा वा तस अह्मो सारीरसासनं करेजामो सवछरं दसमं १० गिम्हा पखो छठो ६ दिवसं पंचमी ५ आनति सयत्ति दत्ता पत्रिका.

sample. This record and the other two show that these are a continuation so to speak of inscriptions in Prakrit of the Sātavāhanas of Paiṭhan. Firstly, the language of both is Prakrit and it is also akin. Secondly, the dates are in both recorded in the Buddhist Aśoka fashion viz the month is never given. The season out of the three seasons of India is given and the fortnight (not dark and half as when months are named) is given by number, the number of fortnights in a season being eight. This sort of giving the season is clearly the Aśoka Buddhist method. Aśoka's empire had extended far down into the south and had undoubtedly included Mahārāshtra. The Āndhras succeeded to the Buddhist Aśoka rule and naturally followed the same system of mentioning the date.* Now the Pallava early Prakrit inscriptions contain this method of mentioning the date viz the season and the number of fortnight. It is thus clear that the early Pallavas are a continuation of the Āndhrabhritya rule at Paiṭhan.

We surmise that when the Āndhrabhṛitya Satavahana rule came to end about 200 A. D. the early Pallavas were viceroys in the southern Deccan and as usual asserted themselves and became independent. The same surmise is given by Dubreuil in his valuable brochure "The Pallavas" He says "The Pallavas succeeded the Āndhras. Their plates mentioned the province of Sātāhani Raṭṭha a portion of the Bellary district. Thus the Pallava empire extended along the Coromandel coast upto the Krishna and westward in the Deccan upto the banks of the Tungabhadrā" (p. 13). It may be added that the mention of the Rāshtra or Raṭṭha and Ahāra as the name of a district is indeed the Mahārāshtra fashion. The Mahārāshtras usually adopted the name Rāshtra as a designation for a province or district. Even in Aśoka's edicts they are called the Rāshtrikas, or the Raṭṭhas. Then again the name of Bappa is peculiarly Aryan and Mahārāshtriya. It is found in one of these Prakrit grants of the early Pallavas.

* It may be pertinent to point out that there are two inscriptions of the Śaka Uśavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapan among the inscriptions in Nasik caves. These alone are dated in Saka era and give the month and the dark or bright fortnight. They are clearly thus foreign i. e. foreign to the custom then paevalent in Mahārāshtra.

Who was the first most important king of these early Pallavas ? He appears to be Vīrakūrcha who in one inscription is stated to have "simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped the complete insignia of royalty and became famous" (Dubreuil p. 23) This Nāga princess Dubreuil surmises to be a daughter of the Sātavāhanas. Whoever she may be, we have here again the mixture of the Aryan Pallava with local Nāga families. Like the Chālukya history Pallava history also gives an ancient basis to the Maratha modern tradition that there are three Vaṁśas among the Marathas viz Surya, Chandra and Nāga.

The Veḷurpalaiyam plate from which the above fact is taken is important in other respects also. On inspecting it carefully (Archealojical Survey Report part V) we find, besides the śloka about Vīrakūrcha (यः फणीन्द्रसुतया सहाग्रहीद्रा जचिन्हमखिलं यशोधनः) the following about Kumāra-Vishṇu son of Skandaśishya, son of this Vīrakūrcha:—गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरस्ततोऽ भूत् । कुमारविष्णुः समरेषु जिष्णुः This shows that Vīrakrūcha's grandson Kumāra Vishṇu took the city of Kānchī and founded the Kānchī power. This statement tallies with probable dates also. In the long list of Pallava ancestors given in the Vāyalūr inscription described by Dubreuil (p. 20) we have 36 kings. Of these Vishnugopa No. 19 appears to be the Vishṇugopa whom Samudragupta conquered and who is mentioned in his famous Allahabad stone inscription of 338 A. D. And we have Narasimhavarman No. 34 contemporary of Hiuen Tsang and Chālukya Pulakeśin II of 640 A. D. Now from no. 19 to 34 there count 15 generations or 300 years at an average of 20. And this distance in time between Vishnugopa and Narasinhavarman, exactly tallies with their historical dates as given above viz. 338 A. D. and 640 A. D. Now let us go back from Vishṇugopa no. 19 of 338 A. D. to Vīrakūrcha no. 11 in the list of Vāyaḷūr plate. We have a difference of 8 generations or 160 years which gives for Vīrakūrcha a date about 178 A. D. and brings him within the Śātavāhana rule. His grandson Kumāra Vishṇu, also given in

the Vāyalūr list, thus seems to have become the king of Kānchī about 200 A.D. The Mayadavollu grant in Prakrit which we have quoted in a foot-note may be taken to have been made by the grandson (no. 15) of this Kumāra Vishnu (no. 13) about 240 A. D.

The consistent history of the early Pallavas therefore may be put as follows from the available inscriptions and grants. A Pallava-surnamed chief (Maratha or from northern India) named Vīrakūrcha gained royal distinction about 178 A. D. by marrying a Nāga princess (presumably of Śātavāhana family), in the south of the Deccan. On the fall of the Sātavahānas the family became powerful and independent and Kumāra Vishnu grandson of Vīrakūrcha conquered Kānchi and founded the Kānchī kingdom about 200 A. D. In 338 A. D. it was conquered by Samudragupta of Patna. This shock threw the Pallava power into shade for some time. But it rose again into splendour under the later Pallavas beginning with Sinhavishnu as we shall presently relate.

We may add that this early Pallava family was undoubtedly Kshatriya. As we have said one great proof of it is that the records of both the early and late Pallavas always mention that they were of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The mention of gotra was always deemed particularly important by Kshatriya kings. We have already seen that the Chālukyas similarly insisted on being called Mānavya-sagotra. They also gave the gotra of the mother to show their descent from a Kshatriya mother also. We have already alluded to the meaning of the epithets Gautamīputra and Vasishthīputra recorded in the mention of Śātavāhana kings. They clearly show that the Kshatriyas took pride in mentioning their gotra. We may add one more instance of this from the same Nasik cave inscriptions. Bhavagopa Senāpati is in one mentioned as of the Kauśika gotra. It is here alone that we have the mention of the gotra and the name-ending "gopa" makes it similar to Vishnugopa and shows that the Senāpati was a Kshatriya. These name-endings

(gopa = protector of the earth) usually taken for indicating caste are of great importance and the gotra mention is still more important. An inscription in Prakrit about this very time, king and place not yet recognised, mentions the gotra of the king as Brihatphalāyana (see inscription of Jayavarman for grant of a village in Kndurāhāra Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 316. In this grant also we have Āhāra, northern Sanskrit name for a Taluka and not "nādu" the Dravidian name). As the earliest grants of the Pallavas insist on mentioninig their gotra as Bhāradvāja we conclude that the Pallavas were really Kshatriyas as Hiuen Tsang describes them.

We may further add that the legend about the origin of the Pallavas as given in the records of the later Pallavas is not reliable and as usual was concocted afterwards to connect them with a Mahābhārata hero. In fact it appears that in later centuries it was an ambition with all kingly families to connect themselves with some hero of the great national epic (just as in the west Greek and Roman families delighted to connect themselves with the heroes of Homer). The Chālukya later legend we have already discussed. We may note here the Pallava legend. It gives the genealogy as follows. १ ब्रह्मा २ अंगिरस् ३ बृहस्पति ४ शंयु ५ भरद्वाज ६ द्रोण ७ अश्वत्थामा and ८ पल्लव born of an Apsaras or heavenly nymph from Ashvatthāmā and placed on a bed made of soft leaves and hence called Pallava. Even Vedic poets loved to play with names, witness the fanciful derivations assigned to Agastya, Angiras, Atri etc. in the Brāhmaṇas and it is no wonder that later Sanskrit poets invented absurd legends to explain the meanings of names like Chālukya and Pallava. We may safely put these legends aside as imaginery, as also the legend that the first Pallava ruled the whole earth. We must take the names of Kshatriya families as we find them, whatever their real origin may have been and rely for facts on contemporary records.

True Kshatriyas, the Pallavas were orthodox and of the Vedic religion. The son of Kumāra Vishṇu viz.

Sivaskandavarman whose Prakrit grant has been found is said to have performed the Aśvamedha. Smith rightly states that this Aśvamedha was performed even before that of Chandragupta of the Gupta family in the north. The Pallavas were also devout worshippers of Siva like the general body of Marathas. They built great temples to Śiva in Kānchī. There may be some Vishṇu temples also but Śiva was their family deity. Though one Pallava king is said to have made a grant to Buddhists at Amarāvati, it does not necessarily show that he was a Buddhist. The toleration by early Aryan kings of Buddhism is well known. Buddhism and Jainism both found followers in the Kānchī empire but the religion of the ruling family and the people generally was Śaivism. Kānchī is still the greatest strong-hold of Śaivism in the south and the most devout Śaiva poets and saints belong to Kānchī. It was probably on this account, that Kānchī has risen to the proud position of a holy city in Hindu estimation. According to Hindu belief there are only seven cities which are holy in India viz. 1 Ayodhyā, 2 Mathurā 3 Māyā or Haradwar 4 Kashī 5 Kānchī 6 Avanti or Ujjain and 7 Dvārakā. It is strange that in the south the honour belongs only to one city and that is Kānchī and does not belong even to Paithan or Pratishthana, the ancient Mahārāshtra seat of learning. It seems that this position was attained by Kānchī under the orthodox rule of the early Pallavas and by the religion of Śaivism which they propagated and favoured together with the greatness of the Śaiva saints who flourished there.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta records that he conquered three kings viz. Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka and Vishṇugopa of Kānchī. These two kingdoms Palakka on the Malabar (West) coast and Vengi on the east coast were undoubtedly under Pallava domination and Vengi is usually called Vengi-rāshtra and was thus under the Maratha rule of the Pallavas from the beginning. The king Attivarman is said to be a Pallava also. The Vengi Rāshtra after the Pallavas came under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and an

eastern Chālukya kingdom was founded there by Vishnuvardhana and may be said to be a continuation of the same rule.

II—THE LATER PALLAVAS OF KĀNCHI

The later Pallavas of Kānchi may be looked upon as contemporaneous with the early Chālukyas and comprised many able kings who were always at feud with their Chālukya contemporaries. These kings were (1) Sinha Vishnu who is placed by Dubreuil in about 590 A. D.; his son was (2) Mahendravarman I, his son (3) Narsinhavarman I; his son (4) Mahendravarman II, his son (5) Parmeśvaravarman I, his son (6) Narsinhavarman II, and his son (7) Parmesvaravarman II who is placed Dubreuil in about 715 A. D. In the margin we give the contemporaneous Chālukya kings. The 7th and last was succeeded by Nandipotavarman of a collateral branch who was defeated by Vikramāditya Chālukya and with him we may suppose the later Pallavas to have gone out of importance.

(Pallava line)	(Chalukya line)
Sinhavarman about 562 A. D.	Ranarāga
1 Sinhavishnu 3 590 A. D.	Pulakeśin I
2 Mahendravarman I 618	Kirtivarman
3 Narsinhavarman I 646	Pulakeśin II
4 Mahendravarman II 660	Vikramāditya I
5 Parmesvarvarman I 674	Vinayāditya I
6 Narsinhavarman II 700	Vijayāditya
7 Parmesvaravarman II 715	
8 Nandipotavarman 742	Vikramāditya II defeated Nandi in 740 A. D.

Thus from about 550 to 750 A. D. these two Mahārāshtra Kshatriya families contended for the overlordship of the Indian Peninsula south of the Norbudda and aimed at and prided upon being lords *between three seas*. The Pallavas had of course already subjugated the Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Kalabhra kings and the latter often sided with their Pallava overlords as feudatories in their battles with the Chālukyas. If does not appear that the Pallavas were ever finally successful; in this hereditary

conflict the victory lay usually with the Chālukyas. But the fortunes were often varying and we need not enter into the details of these reverses and successes. Grants and inscriptions of both the Chālukyas and the Pallavas have been found in great numbers and sometimes contain contradictory statements. But a consistent history has been evolved by scholars which may be related shortly as follows.

Sinhavishṇu was the first great sovereign among the later Pallavas. He conquered, besides the Cholas etc, even Ceylon. His son was Mahendravarman I who was defeated by Pulakeśin II the great rival of Harsha. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kānchī, his son Narasinhavarman was on the throne; he was apparently subject to Pulakeśin II. But this Narasinhavarman I eventually defeated Pulakeśin II in 642 and his capital Vātāpi was taken and plundered by him. The latter's son Vikramāditya I thereafter revived the glory of the Chālukyas and took revenge by seizing Kānchī in return. The date of this conquest of Parmeśvaravarman I by Vikramāditya I isfixed by a grant of the latter (Gadval plates, Ep. Ind. X p. 101) in 674 A. D. (Dubreuil p. 42). A grant of Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya dated 613 Śaka or 691 A. D. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI p. 89) contains some interesting information. The epithet हिमकरकरविमल कुलपरिभवविल्यहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरगृहीतकाञ्चिपुरस्य (विक्रमादित्यस्य) is somewhat obscure. This has been translated by Dr. Fleet as follows "who seized the city of Kānchī after the defeat of the leader of Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation of the family as pure as the rays of the moon." Now the real difficulty is in the word विल्य; the पल्लवपति is described not as परिभवहेतु but परिभवविल्यहेतु, विल्य being omitted or left unnoticed by Fleet. But the expression is indeed obscure. The Chālukya family is here supposed to be of the lunar race as later records represent it, but this point is also doubtful. However the main fact is apparent viz. that the Pallavas being defeated their city was entered. Another important epithet applied to Vikramāditya in this grant is त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवर्तिमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य

which shows that he was the overlord of all the chiefs who ruled *within three oceans.* And thirdly the word त्रैराज्यपल्लव-वल्मवदृष्य shows the Pallavas had three kingdoms much in the same way as the Chālukyas had three Mahārāshtas (viz. Vidarbha, Mahārāshtra proper and Kuntala or southern Maratha country). And the three kingdoms of the Pallavas were probably Vengi, Kānchī and Palakkada; but Vengi had already been lost and taken by the Eastern Chālukyas. Perhaps the traditional epithet Trairājya Pallava still remained.

The Pallavas though often defeated retained. however, their kingdom as usual in ancient times and were powerful for a long time. The last defeat inflicted on them (under Nandipotavarman) by the Chālukyas, was under Vikramāditya II in about 740 A. D. Kānchī was again seized and entered. But being considered a sacred city as already mentioned, it was never plundered by the orthodox Chālukyas. On the contrary any plunder taken from temples by unscrupulous hands was restored and many rich presents were made by the Chālukya king and queen to its famous gods. Nandipoṭavarman's power may be said to have declined from this time. He had a long reign however of about 51 years.

The later *Pallavas* were like the earlier ones great Śaivas and they have left behind them temples and caves and rock-cut rathas which are yet the admiration of the world. They surpassed the Chālukyas in this respect. The Rājasinheśvara or Kailāsanātha temple in Kānchī is famous. Who this Rājasinha was is not quite clear, but he seems to have been Narasinhavarman II (some scholars take him to be Narasinhavarman I). The birudaṣ or titles of these kings are so numerous that it is really difficult to identify them. These birudas are the fancies of poet-flatterers. The Rājasinheśvara temple contains many such e. g. Atyantakānta, Raṇachanda and so on, but as plainly showing that these Pallavas were Kshatriyas as Hiuen Tsang states, we may quote one viz: Śrikshatrachūdamaṇi. The Māmallapura temple of Śiva contains

a short inscription in it viz. अनिरणचण्डपल्लेश्वरगृह. In the Kailāsanātha temple in an inscription the pedigree of the Pallavas is given as (1) Brahmā (2) Angiras (3) Brihaspati (4) Śamyu (5) Bharadvāja (6) Drona (7) Aśvatthāmā (1) Pallava. In his line was born Ugradanda who defeated Raṇarasika probably a Chālukya king. His son was Rājasinha. Dubreuil opines that Ugradanda and Lokāditya mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchī mean Parameśvara I and Raṇarasika is Vikramāditya I. Thus this Chālukya after defeating the Pallavas was in turn defeated on the banks of the Kāveri by three kings united viz. Kānchi Sinhala and Pāndya kings. The date of this defeat is 674 A. D. (see Dubreuil p. 42 noted before). The builder of the Rājasinheśvara temple would then be Narasinhavarman II of about 700 A. D. The rock-cut temples at Māmmallapura near Madras called the "Seven Pagodas" and the cave temples at Mahendravādi and Māmandūr were excavated by order of these Pallava kings from Mahendravarman I (Smith). There are at Māmallapura (the name Mamalla is derived from Mahāmalla a title of Narasinhavarman I) three Śaiva temples and one Vaishnava. Dubreuil thinks that Mahendravarman and his father originally ruled in the Telagu country to the north of the Krishna and the cave works and rock-cut temples he execdted during his reign at Kānchī were copied from similar buildings and excavations at Amarāvati. The art thus in his opinion goes back to the Buddhistic period and is Greek in origin,

The later Pallavas were thus great builders of temples. Dubreuil thinks that Narasinhavarman II surnamed Rājasinha had a long, and peaceful reign, and did nothing else "except loading Śaivite priests with favours and building temples to Śiva. Besides the famous Kailāsanātha or Rājasinheśvara temple he built the Shore Temples at Mahābalipura and the Panamalai temple. The Airāvateśvara temple at Kānchī may also be added to this list." (p. 45). These kings also appear to be patrons of letters.

A burlesque (प्रहसन) has been found at Travancore of which Mahendravarman I is the writer. (It would be interesting to read this drama or rather Prahasana). And Dubreuil has found confirmation of this fact from an inscription on a cave at Māmandūr and which he reads as मत्तविलासादिपदं प्रहसनं, Mattavilāsa being a title of Mahendravarman I. The greatness of this king is described by Dubreuil as follows, "(1) he checked the Chālukya invasion at Pallalur, (2) he gave a new impulse to Śaivism, (3) he glorified poetry and music (it appears he was himself the composer of some svaras), (4) he transferred the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Krishna to those of the Pālār and Kāveri and (5) for administrative purposes he built tanks at Mahendravādi, Māmandūr and probably at Dalavamir. "Thus Mahendravarman I opened a new era whose apotheosis we shall see in the reign of his son Narasinhavarman I" (p. 40). This praise is well merited. The successors of Narasinha too were great builders e. g. Rājasinha alias Narasinhavarman II. They were also great patrons of learning, the son of this Narasinhavarman viz. Parameśvravarman being a great patron of letters. We give in the appendix a grant of this Parmeśvaravarman as much as a sample of the good poetry of the Pallava school as proof of this fact. We shall find also mention of many historical facts in connection with the Pallavas and the Chālukyas, (the French and the English of India) in this inscription. The Pallavas were great patrons of Sanskrit literature and not Dravidian literature which latter it must be stated flourished at the court of the earlier Pāndya kings at Madura. In fact as we have already stated the Pallavas spoke a mid-Indian language.

The social relations of these Pallavas also appear to be with the northerners. For instance the Chālukya first king is said to have married a Pallava princess. Then again (Archealogical S. R. Part V) the Vellur plate already quoted states that the wife of Dantivarman was a Kadamba princess* And similarly in a grant at p. 555 it is stated

* नल्पातस्य कदम्बवंशाभिलषन्दोर्शनिंदराहमना।

that Nandivarman had married a Rāshtrakūta lady.† The name of this lady was Revā and her son was properly called Dantivarman from his Rāshtrakūta grandfather (Dubreuil p. 75). Whether the Pallavas married Dravidian Chola, Pāndya, Kerala princesses we do not know. But it is not strange if they did, for the Mahārāshtra Aryan Kshatriyas also married Nāgavaṃśa princesses. The theory then was that a Kshatriya could take a wife from any caste down to Śūdras and the progeny still remained Kshatriya. The southern Aryans of the lunar race like the northern ones appear to have mixed themselves with Nāga families freely.

The Pallavas in all their grants never use the Śaka era, in fact they mention no other years but their own regnal years and hence their dates are open to doubt. This absence of the Śaka era in due to their old pedigree which goes back beyond 400 A. D. when the Śaka era, as we have said before, was popularised by new astronomical Siddhāntas. In fact the Pallavas go back to the period of the Śātavāhanas who never used the Śaka era. The Pallavas are thus plainly an older people than the Chālukyas, that is to say they were settled in the Deccan much earlier than the latter.

We may in conclusion give in brief a short history of what we may call the last or third Pallava line. It was composed of four kings whose dates are ascertained by Dubreuil as in the margin. Of these we have already seen that Nandivarman was defeated by Chālukya Vikramāditya II in 745 A. D. The Chālukyas themselves fell before the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed and it appears that these last Pallavas recognised thereafter the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas.

1 Nandivarman Pallavamalla 717-779 A. D.
|
2 Dantivarman—77?-830
|
3 Nandi of Tellarn—830-864
|
4 Nripatunga—864-880
|
Aparājita

† आसीत्साद्दवाहवादेवी तन्वङ्गी नन्दिवर्मणः । राष्ट्रकूटकुले जाता लक्ष्मीरिव सुराद्रिनः ॥

Dantivarman is said to have been defeated by the Rāshtrakūtas about 803 A. D. After Nṛipatunga the Pallavas under Aparājita* were extinguished by the Cholas in about 900 A. D. under Āditya I. Thereafter we do not hear of any Pallava kings. These last Pallavas apparently ruled in Kānchi. They all have left many grants. They cannot be called Ganga Pallavas according to Dubreuil and Gopinathrao. The Gangas were a distinct line in Kanara and Mysore and should not be confounded with the Pallavas. Nandivarman II is said to have defeated the Pāndya kings at Tellaru when they invaded his territories on the Kaveri and hence Dubreuil calls him Nandí of Tellaru. Nṛipatunga had undoubtedly Tanjore and Trichonopally under him as his grants show and it is there that the Cholas subsequently rose to power. These Cholas we shall have to refer to in the third epoch of our history.

The present chiefs of Pundukotta represent themselves to be descendants of the Pallāvas and their claim may be well founded. But it may be noted that since the Chola supremacy the Pallavas ceased to have any connection with the north and the Pallavas must have been confined to marriages with Dravidian chiefs. They belong to the latter period of Indian history when as we shall further on relate marriage relations became strict all over India.

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* Some scholars say that Aparājita is but another name of Nṛipatunga who took it after defeating the Pāndyas. In any case the name Aparājita proved untrue for the king was finally defeated and the line extinguished by Āditya I.

NOTES

I—KURAM PALLAVA GRANT

South Indian Inscriptions (Hultzsch) Vol. I p. 148-50.

स्वस्ति । पञ्चास्यस्त्रिंशदक्षः प्रतिभयनयनश्चन्द्रमौलिस्त्रिशूली । भीमाव्याकोपरौद्रो-
भुजपरिघस्तत्त्वमात्रात्ममूर्तिः ॥ दिव्यावेश्यो मुकुन्दप्रभृतिभिरमरैः सृष्टिकृन्मन्त्रसिद्धः ।
कल्याणं नो मूर्तविद्याविहितपरयमस्त्रायतां विश्वमूर्तिः ॥ कार्यव्यूहकलाक्रमस्य परमव्योमा-
नन्तज्योतिषो । विद्रुम्माननचन्द्रकान्तपतिता मूर्च्छन्ति यस्यांशवः । भूतानां हृदयेषु
चालयति यः शार्क्तिं क्रियासाधनीं त्रैव्यात्मा परमेश्वरः स जयति त्रैलोक्यचूडामणिः ॥
अब्रह्मण्यमसोमयागमयथाप्रस्थानदण्डोद्यमम् । मिथ्यादान्तमदानशूरमनृतव्याहारजि-
ह्मान्ननम् । जातं यत्र नरेश्वरं न शृणुमो युद्धेषु वा विक्लवं निर्विघ्नः पृथिवीन्निरीतिमवतान्न-
स्तत्पल्लवानां कुलम् ॥ ब्रह्मणोऽङ्गिरास्ततो बृहस्पतिस्तस्माद्भरद्वाजस्ततो द्रोणः।द्रोणादपरिमित-
तेजोऽश्वत्थामाश्वत्थामा । ततो निराकृतापह्नवः पल्लवः यतः सकलभुवनवल्लभपल्लवकुलम् ।
तत्पल्लवकुलं यत्र जातं नरेश्वरम् । अब्रह्मण्यमदातारमशूरं नानुशुश्रुम । नदु-
धर्ग्गणितधर्म्मसोमादित्यस्याविनतमुसनृपातिमूर्द्धं. चजोशने प्रतियन्ति राजगजवृथ-
निहन्य नृसिंहवर्मणः........ मुहुरवाजितचोळकेरळकळभ्रपाण्ड्यस्य सहस्रबाहोरिव
समरशतनिर्विष्टसहस्रबाहुकर्मणः परिमळमणिमंगलशूरमारप्रभृति रणाविदर्शितपुलकेशि
पृष्ठपट्टलिखितविजयाक्षरस्य कलशयोनेरिव विमथितवातापेः पौत्रो महेन्द्रस्येव सुरचित-
स्कन्दे महेश्वरवर्मणः सुप्रणीतवर्णाश्रमधर्मस्य पुत्रः परमेश्वर इव सर्वाधिकदर्शनः
परमेश्वरवर्मा भरत इव सर्वदमनः सगर इव कृतासमंजसत्यागः कर्ण इव पुष्कलाङ्गेयः
प्रियकादयो ययातिरिव अनुपनतानां राज्ञां यस्याज्ञा भरति सर्वदा पौळा । ......
here follows a description of a hard fought battle which is both very real and poetical; विक्रमादित्यं कर्पटमात्रपरिच्छदं एकाकिपलायितं ..तेन परमेश्वरेण नाम
मन्वन्तरगणे अष्टशतचतुर्वेदकुलसमृद्धकूरग्रामनामग्रहणे विद्याविनीतपल्लवपरमेश्वर-
गृहे प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतः पिनाकपाणेः पूज्यास्नानकुसुमगन्धधूपदीपहविरुपहार-
बलिशंखपटहादिप्रवर्तनार्थं अत्रैव उदकमभिभारतमाख्यानमाणिक्कोटमध्ये पत्यानामय-
न्यदान्तरगणे ......

While Chālukya records represent Pallavas as defeated by Vikramāditya this grant represents him as flying from the field covered with a rag or rather a "langoti," to use in Marathi. However both accounts may be true; as there are usually successes and reverses between equally matched opponents. The further interest of this record is that it

presents Paramesvaravarman as fond of poetry. And the occurrence of the word Rāshtra as the name of a division or district shows that the Pallavas originally came from the Mahārāshtras. We will refer to this again later on.

II—Some Nasik cave Inscriptions in Prakrit as read by Senart (latest version) Ep. In. Vol. VIII.

(1) No. 22 page 93.

सादवाहनकुले कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन समणेन महामातेण लेण कारित.

(Under king Krishna of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nasik)

(2) No. 24 page 94.

सिधं राञो गोतमीपुतस सिरियण सातकणिस संवछरे सातमे हेमताण पखे ततीये ३ दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासेणापतिस भवगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणीय वासुय लेण बोपकियतिसुजमान अपयवसितसमाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकटे पवयतान नितो चातुदिसस च भिखुसंघस आवासो दतो ति ।

(Tran.:—Success. On the first day of the 3rd fortnight of winter in the seventh year of the king the lord Siriya Sātakani son of Gotami, the Mahāsenāpatini Vasu wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa of the Kauśika family has completed and given as an abode to the Universal Sangha of monks this cave which has been excavated for many years but after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki had remained uncompleted).

III—No. 5 page 73.

सिध गोवधने आमचस सामकस देयो राजाणितो रञो गोतमीपुतस सातकणिस महादेवीय च जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन गोवधने चोसामको अरोगवतवो ततो एव च वतवो एथ अम्हेहि पवते तिरण्हुम्हि अम्हधमदाने लेणे पतिवसताणं पवजितान भिखून गामे कखडिसु पुव खेतं दत तच खेत..कसते सोच गामो न वसति एवं सति य दानि एथ नगरसीमे राजकं खेत अम्हसतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखूनं तेरण्हुकानं ददम खेतस निवतणसतं तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अलोणखादक अरठसविनयिक सवजातपारिहारिक च एते हि न परिहारेहि परिहारेहि एत च स खेतपरिहारे च एथ निबधापेथ अवियेन आणत पटिहारखिय लोटाय छतो लेखो सवछरे २४ वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ सुजिविना कटानिबधो निबधो सवछरे २४ गिम्हाण पखे २ दिवसे १०.

(Tran.:—Success. Order of the king to be made over to Sāmaka the officer at Govadhana in the name of the king Sātakani Gotamiputa and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living. Sāmaka the officer at Govadhana shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus: "We have here on mount Tirahnu formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours a field in the village of Kakhadi. But this field is not tilled nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so that royal village of ours which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of Tirahnu one hundred Nivartanas of land and to that field we grant immunity not to be entered (by royal officers) not to be touched (by any of them) not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police and in short to enjoy all kinds of immunities; invest it with these immunities and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered. The deed written down by Lota the doorkeeper. The charter executed by Sujivin in the year 24 in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season on the 5th day. The donation had been made in the year 24 in the second fortnight of summer on the 10th day.

IV—Beginning of No. 12 page 82.

सिधं । वसे ४२ वेसाख मासे राञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामातरा दीनीक पुत्रेन उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं.

(Tran.:—In the year 42 in the month of Vesakha, Ushavadāta son of Dīnika son-in-law of king Nahapāna the Kshaharata has bestowed this cave on the Samgha generally).

CHAPTER XI

THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF VENGI AND KALINGA

(For the materials of this history we have many inscriptions of Eastern Chālukya kings; these and other various sources are available and have been utilized.)

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi under Pulakeśin II were the overlords of the whole of the south. They had conquered the Āndhras in the east, the Pallavas in the south, the Gurjaras in the west and the Kosalas and others in the north. Two separate branches of these Chālukyas were also founded in the east and the west at this time and Pulakeśin placed two brothers of his in these subordinate kingdoms. The first Eastern Chālukya king is styled Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana and he began to rule in the Vengi kingdom wrested from the Pallavas from 605 A. D. according to one view or at the latest from 615 A. D. S. Krishṇasvami Aiyangar in his history of Ancient India says (p. 27) "The Pallava generals marched up to the capital of the Chālukyas and so completely destroyed it that there was an interregnum for 13 years. It was to maintain peace in the Pallava position that Pulakeshin organised a separate viceroyalty at Vengi under his brother who became the founder of a dynasty". This is incorrect. For Vātāpi was plundered about 643 A. D. and the Vengi kingdom had already been founded in 605 or 615 A. D. Pulakeśin gave it to his brother in the natural fulfilment of brotherly affection or for policy in order to make a separate kingly provision for a royal brother. For his second brother, he similarly provided a kingdom in Gujarat or Lāta (capital Navasari). But Kubja Vishṇuvardhana was fortunate enough to found a dynasty which was longer lived than its parent stem and which ruled in Vengi from the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 11th century when it was merged into the Chola kingdom the founder of which was a daughter's son of the last king of this line.

These Chālukyas of Vengi have left many grants and inscriptions and what is peculiar they usually mention the whole line with the regnal years of each king. Hence a tolerably accurate genealogy of this line can be given, like the one given at page 32 of the first volume of "South Indian inscriptions" by Hultzsch. The initial date of Vishṇuvardhana is subject to discussion and is given by Hultzsch as 605 and by Dr. Fleet as 615 A. D. Probably it must be some years before 615 A. D. Five grants of these Eastern Chālukyas are given in the first volume of Smiths' Indian copperplates. The earlier of these grants do not give any history or legend before the mention of Chālukya Pulakeśin I. But the fifth which is clearly later and the Raṇastipundi grant of Vimalāditya gives at the beginning the new legend which had become then current about the origin of the Chālukyas and which we have already noticed. These two grants (Chellur, p. 51. S. I. Ins. Vol. I and Raṇastipundi grant ditto Vol. V.) give a long list of kings with regnal years and these we will give here in detail as they are given in these two grants. Both these grants also give dates in Śaka year and the years of the coronation of the two last kings and hence we have a final date from which we may count back to the very first Kubja Vishṇuvardhana as the regnal years of each and every king are given. But the list extends over a period of about 500 years a very long time indeed and certainty is unattainable. Dynastic lists appear to have been preserved in every state in India in ancient times and the records of Vengi as of Kashmir appear to have been particularly well preserved. But an interregnum of 27 years is mentioned and hence the list becomes again somewhat subject to doubt.

The names of these kings with their years and relationship as mentioned in these two grants are as follows:—

1 Kubjavishnuvardhana, 18 years.
2 Son, Jayasinhavallabha, 33 years.
3 Brother, Indraraja, 7 days.
4 Son, Vishnuvardhana II, 9 years.

5 Son, Mangi Yuvarāja, 25 years.
6 Son, Jayasinha, 13 years.
7 Brother Kokkili, 6 months. Set aside by his elder brother :—
8 Vishṇuvardhana III, 37 years
9 Son, Vijayāditya, 18 years
10 Son, Vishṇuvardhana IV, 36 years
11 Son, Vijayāditya Narendra Mṛigarāja a famous king who has left a grant, 48 years
12 Son, Kalivishnuvardhana V, 1½ year
13 Son, Guṇaka Vijayāditya, 44 years
14 Nephew, Chālukya Bhīma, 30 years
15 Son, Kollabhi Ganda Vijayāditya, 6 months
16 Son, Ammarāja, 7 years. His child son was set aside by:—
17 Tādapa, 1 month
18 Setting him aside, son of Bhīma (14) Vikramāditya, 11 months
19 Son of 17, Yuddhāmalla, 7 years
20 Setting him aside, brother of 16 from country Bhīma, 12 years
21 Son, Ammarāja II, 25 years
22 Half-brother Dānanripa, 3 years
Interregnum for 27 years.

Here the line seems to have been broken off but the next king Śaktivarman is said to be son of Dānārṇava who may be taken to be the last king Dānanṛipa No. 22, and the line proceeds as follows:—

23 Śaktivarman, son of 22, 12 years
24 Brother Vimalāditya, 7 years
25 Son Rājarāja, 41 years, of the lunar race married Ammangā daughter of Rajendra Choda of the solar race.
26 Son, Rajendra Choda.

The last first became king of Vengi and then overlord of the whole of the south conquering Kerala, Pāndya, Kuntala etc. He was then anointed king of the Choda kingdom (Chola). He married the Princess Madhurāntaki

born of the solar Chola family. He had many sons. The account here related is not quite clear as it mixes up the Chola and Vengi kingdoms and families. Vīrachoda finally was anointed king on Thursday 13th Tithi (त्रयिकलम), Śravaṇa Nakshatra, Bright fortnight, Sun being in Lion in Śaka 1001. This king makes this Chellur grant of a village in Guddavāli Vishaya to a temple of Vishṇu built by his commander-in-chief Medarya born in a Brahmin family of the Mudgala gotra. This inscription is very important (p. 57, Vol. 1 S. Ind. Ins.) and we will further on describe it fully.

This inscription then gives us the names of kings, the length of the reign of each, his relation to the predecessor and the fact wherever the succession was violent. But unfortunately we have no other materials to co-ordinate a detailed consecutive history. Dr. Fleet has by the aid of other Eastern Chālukya grants made out a detailed story of this line and has also tried to fix the dates of the reigns of each king for which antiquarians will certainly be grateful to him (see his articles in Indian Antiquary Vol. XX). But there are certain facts even unexplained by him and we shall try to solve these difficulties. Now the first difficulty is about the succession of Kokkili No. 7. He was a younger son and yet he succeeded his eldest brother before his elder brother. After six months of possession he was set aside by this elder brother Vishṇuvardhana who thereafter had a long reign of 37 years. What was the probable story of this apparent usurpation of Kokkili? We have already made a guess and it seems to be the proper one. Supposing that Vishṇuvardhana the founder came to the throne in 605 A. D. we have for the end of the reign of Kokkili's eldest brother Jayasinha A.D. 703 (Vishṇu 18 + Jay 33 + Vishṇu 9 + Mangi 25 + Jayasinha 13 = 98 years). Now it is probable that the world-conquering expedition of Lalitāditya of Kashmir happened at this time. Jayasinha had just died or was killed in battle. His full brother must have fled owing to his dissentions with his step-mother and as stated in Kashmir chronicles

that step-mother a Ratta lady offered submission to Lalitāditya. When Lalitāditya went away as usual, returning the subject kingdom to its owner, Kokkili the youngest brother was crowned king in the absence of his elder brother and proper claimant. He (Vishṇuvardhana) however returned, forcibly ejected his younger brother and seized the throne which was his due. (Kokkili is said plainly to be half brother of Jayasinha and Vishṇuvardhana may have been Jayasinha's full brother. There was thus the enmity of step relation too see S. I. Ind. Vol. I page 41). If we place the founder Vishṇuvardhana's reign in 615 A. D this Vishṇuvardhana's reign and Jayasinha's death would fall in 713 A. D. Lalitāditya's whole digvijaya ended before 712 A. D. the date of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs as we have stated in Kashmir history. This may at first sight make the story of Lalitāditya's coming to the south improbable. But as there is only a difference of a few years we hold that Vishṇuvardhana the founder's reign may well be placed in 605 A. D. According to Dr. Fleet who takes Vishṇuvardhana the founder's rule to begin in 615 A. D. Kokkili came to the throne in 709 A.D. (For he takes for Jayasinha 30 years). And this date 709 A. D. also fits in with Lalitāditya's conquest of the south.*

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* The ślokas in the Rājtaranginī are as follows :—

तस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे रट्टाख्या कर्णाटी पटुलेखया । अपारमिन्द्रपातिभूर्भुवः गृहश्रीर्दक्षिणापथम् ।
विन्ध्याद्रिमार्गाः पर्याप्ता निष्प्रत्यूहप्रभावया । दुर्गेव तया देव्या कृता निष्कण्टका ललितादित्यपादा-
ब्जनखदर्पणमण्डले । स्वमूर्तिं वीक्ष्य संक्रान्तां प्रणता साऽपि सिषिवे ॥ तरङ्ग ४-१५२-४.

The translator Stein has, we think, wrongly said in a note here that this queen was a Rāshtrakūta lady. In the Mahārāshtra the Chālukya family was still supreme and the Rāshtrakūtas had yet to rise for they came to power after 750 A. D. The Chālukya king was at this time Vijayāditya who may have probably been in prison at this time in Kānchī (see Chālukya history). The mention of Vindhya passes indicates that Lalitāditya crossed the Eastern Ghauts into Vengi country. These hills have to be crossed whether you come into Vizagapattan from Orissa or from Raipur side. A Ratta Karnata queen would again probably indicate an Eastern Chālukya queen for they were Mahārāshtra by origin and Karnāta by language or in modern language they were Southern Mahratta country people. North and South India appear then as now differentiated in the matter of Pardah and we need not wonder that this Ratta queen presented herself before Lalitaditya and did him homage. She appears to have been a young lady also from Rājataranginī and she must have been so from inscriptions also as she was a step-mother to the last king Jayasinha and her child son Kokkili was a half-brother of the former (see S. I. In, Hultzsch Vol. I. p. 41).

The next disputed succession appears to be that of Tādapa. King Ammarāja (no. 16) left a child son and he was set aside by one Tādapa who seems to be an outsider. Adding up the reigns of the intervening kings who appear to have mostly enjoyed long rule we have from 8 to 16 *i. e.* for 9 reigns 222 years and adding 703 A. D. the beginning of 8 we have 925 A. D. approximately for the usurpation of Tādapa. But he was promptly set aside after one month's reign by a younger son of Bhīma the 14th king who must have been a sardar of the kingdom enjoying a few villages. After 11 months he was himself set aside by another and better claimant to the throne Yudhāmalla a son of king no. 17. He reigned for 7 years. But he too was supplanted by another still better claimant viz. a brother of Ammarāja, the last king no 17. The expression used here is very important viz. तमुच्चाट्य देशादम्मराजानुजः. This is wrongly translated as "having expelled him from the country ;" for in a similar previous mention, the words तमुच्चाट्य alone are used. Hence देशात् does not go with the previous word but with the following. It means reaccording to our view "*coming* from the *mother* country" i. e. Mahārāshtra. The Eastern Chālukyas were Mahārāshtra in origin and had full intercourse with their parent land. A younger brother of Ammarāja must have sought fortune in Mahārāshtra and gained some jaghir there. When he found his brother dead and his throne the subject of dispute between rival claimants he returned and succeeded as the rightful claimant to the last king undisputed. This happened 8 years after 925 i. e. in 933 A. D. The line continued unbroken for three generations further. He himself ruled for 12 years, his son Amma II 25 years and another son of his by another wife and hence half-brother of the last king ruled for 3 years. Here an explanation is necessary how Dānārṇava who apparently is an older brother of Amma II succeeded before him. We think the facts must have been as follows. Chālukya Bhīma his father came as we have said from the Deccan to claim his right to the Vengi throne as

brother of Amma I. He was most likely a jagirdar in the Deccan. His eldest son he must have left to continue his Jagir there. Having succeeded in getting the throne of Vengi he married Loka Mahādevī a Chola princess probably and had by her Amma II who succeeded to the throne of Vengi getting also the name of Amma. He apparently died childless. His elder brother Dānārnava, therefore, gave up his jagir in the Deccan and came to the throne of Vengi. He reigned for 3 years only. Clearly enough his claims were contested and gave pretext to the Chola rising power to overthrow him. The Vengi kingdom remained without a king for 27 years. This explains the interregnum as also the coming to the throne of Dāṇārnava later than Amma II. His son Śaktivarman however succeeded in establishing eventually his claim as we see further on. Now the grant says "by the evil turn of fortune the Vengi country was without a king for 27 years." Thus 12+25+3=40 years after 933 A. D. i. e. in 973 A. D. this interregnum began and lasted till 973+27=1000 A. D. What the cause of this interregnum really was it is difficult to surmise. Perhaps the disputes between rival claimants still continued and civil war was still raging, or the now-rising power of the Cholas laid the kingdom waste. But a marriage relation between Chola and Vengi gave Vengi a further lease of life. The line was again established by Śaktivarman a son of Dānanripa the last king. He reigned 12 years and his brother Vimalāditya 7 years and his son Rājarāja 41. 60 years brings the end of the reign of Rājarāja to 1060 A. D. His son born of Ammangā daughter of Rajendra Choda and therefore himself called Rajendra, after 15 years' rule of an uncle and one year's rule of a brother gave the kingdom to his son named Vīrachoda also born of a Chola princess in Śaka 1001 i. e. 1079 A. D. Now from the above data we get 1076 A. D. a difference of three years only. These 3 years may either be added to the interregnum or to the initial date of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana or may be due to the residue months and days of intervenning rulers which are

given only in whole years. The beginning of the Eastern Chālukya rule under Vishṇuvardhana may thus be taken at any date between 605 A. D. and 615 which last however tallies well with a grant of this very king in 632 A. D. in the 18th year of his reign made on account of an eclipse in Śrāvana (see Ind. Anti. Vol XX p. 13).

The political history of the Eastern Chālukyas does not seem to be very disturbed and they enjoyed a long rule from 605 A. D. to 1078 A. D. when they were merged into the new risen power of the Cholas. Their rule extended much beyond Vengi itself which is now a small town (Pedda Vegi) between the Godavari and the Krishna. They must have been lords of Kalinga also i. e. the territory to the north of the Godavari as far as the confines of modern Orissa. Raja-Mahendri was founded by the Eastern Chālukya later king named Amma called also by the biruda Rajamahendra. However, Kalinga seems to have had during this period a dynasty of its own called in their inscriptions the Ganga family. It must be noted that Kalinga is an ancient name and Veṅgi is much later. Kalinga like Mahārāshtra is said to be composed of three countries and hence the name Trikaliṅga which by Prakrit phonetic change has become Telanga of the modern times. This Trikalinga is expressly mentioned in a grant of Vijayāditya (S. I. In. Hultzsch Vol. I. p. 45) as, under the king Chālukya Bhīma. The expression is सत्रिकालिङ्गवेङ्गिमण्डलम्मपाल्यत् which shows that Vengimandala was considered distinct from Trikalinga. Vengi must, therefore, be taken to mean primarily the eastern coast district between the Godavari and the Krishna and Trikalinga meant Kalinga to the north of the Godavari, Āndhra inside the Ghauts and Ganjam, in which extended territory the Telagu language is still spoken (we will speak of Āndhra is a special note). The Eastern Chālukyas had also rule in the western Madras districts though not towards the south of the Krishna as they must have been opposed in early days by the Pallavas and later on by Cholas in this direction. These districts were latterly a subject of dispute

between the eastern Chālukyas and the Rattas i. e. the Rāshtrakūta kings of Malkhed who were then supreme in Mahārāshtra. The Chālukyas thus fought often with the Gangas in Kalinga and the Rāshtrakūtas in the western districts. Their king Chālukya Bhima is said in a grant to have fought 108 battles and to have built 108 Śiva temples. Another king is said to have even taken the capital of Krishna and burnt it (S. I. Ins. Vol. I p. 39). The eastern Chālukyas thus kept up their prestige for valour.

The Eastern Chālukyas probably spoke Kanarese while the Trikalingas i. e. Kalinga, Āndhra and Ganjam spoke Telagu and the southern country spoke Tamil. The Eastern Chālukyas,in the beginning however,for some years must have spoken a Sanskrit-born Prakrit Aryan language. They also appear to have kept up marriage relations with the Mahārāshtra and Central Indian Aryan families. A curious fact to be noted in this connection is that in a grant of Vijayāditya (S. In. Ins. Hultsch Vol. I p. 40) we are told that a village was granted to a sardar whose family name was Pattavardhana which family came down from the time of the founder Kubjavishnuvardhana. Now this name "Pattavardhana" is a Mahārāshtra name and still survives among Marathas, Brahmins and other castes also. This Pattavardhana family in the grant appears to have been Kshatriya, as the names of the persons in it are Somāditya, Kuntāditya and so on. It was a family of warriors of long-standing. In a grant of the same Chālukya king Narendra Mrigarāja, the "Ājnyaptā" or command-giver is said to be his brother Nriparudra of the Haihaya family (S. I. Ins. Hultsch Vol. I p. 31). The word brother here must of course mean son of his maternal or paternal aunt. The Chālukyas clearly thus married into the Haihaya Kalachuri family of Central India. It need not be surmised from this that they refused to marry into the Chola, Pāndya and other Dravidian families. For these too had become included by this time (about the 10th century) into the solar and lunar races and the last

Eastern Chālukya king did marry a daughter of the powerful Chola kings now assigned as stated above to the solar race. But we may believe that in the beginning for some time at least the Eastern Chālukyas must have confined themseves to marriage with well-known Aryan Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra and the north, they priding themselves still on their Kshatriya descent.

A few remarks may be made on the form of administration. It was apparently entirely northern. The word for lowest revenue division is vishaya and not nadu the Dravidian word. A village is always said to be situate in such and such a vishaya. Secondly the Ājnaptā or issuer of the command of grant is some prince but in one it is said to be Pancha Pradhānas (पञ्चप्रधानाः). This is a remarkable change. We hear for the first time the word प्रधान Pradhana, so much used in later Maratha history. The ministers are not eight but five; who they were cannot be surmised. The words Mantri, Amātya and Adhyaksha are by this time left behind and may have got into special significations. Thirdly, the grants are addressed to Rāshtrakūta-Pramukhān Kutumbinah (विषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूट-प्रमुखान् कुटुम्बिनः इत्थमाज्ञापयति). Now this word राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् is singular in these Eastern Chālukya grants and is not to be found in any other grants of the ancient kingdoms of India. What does it mean? It is translated as "heads of provinces" by the Ind. Ant. But this is not quite acceptable. A vishaya or Tehsil is the lowest division and above it comes Rāshtra राष्ट्र) or Bhukti (भुक्ति) and so on. The word Rāshtra too occurs in these grants e. g. Krama Rāshtra and apparently shows a division larger than a vishaya. Rāshtrakūta ordinarily means head of a province but Rāshtrakūtas cannot come under vishayas. Of course here we have a distinct clue to the fact that Rāshtrakūta is not the name of a family as many think or thought but it is the name of an office and is the exact equivalent of the modern Deshmukh. Deshmukh and Deshpande (head patil and head writer) are higher officers of the District, not the Taluka. The Rāshtrakūta family of Malkhed,

therefore, as we shall state in their history has merely an official position name changed into a family surname as Prabhu, Deshmukh and Senapati (Senavi) etc have become in later Marātha history. But what we urge here is that as Rāstrakūta office cannot come under vishaya, Rāshtrakūta had already become apparently the name of local official families of Marathas. Deshmukhs in general were usually Marathas and it is probable that under the Eastern Chālukyas, the Dravidian country must have been assigned to Rāsatrakūta or Maratha families as hereditary Patils in the same way as in the Deccan. The grants are therefore addressed to the inhabitants of the vishaya of whom the Rāshtrakūtas were the leading families. However, whether Rāshtrakūta indicates Maratha people or not, *this word Rāshtrakūta occurring in the eastern* Chālukya grants throws full light on the origin of the name of राष्ट्रकूट and shows that it means nothing more than a revenue official like the Deshmukh of modern days.

The Eastern Chālukya kings were worshippers of Siva. They usually had long reigns being apparently well behaved (or in the absence of a truthful and detailed historian like Kalhana they appear to be so from the inscriptions and grants which only eulogise their merits). They observed Hindu religious practices rigorously and were strict enforcers of Varnāśrama. They were usually educated persons, one king especially was proficient in mathematics and hence was called Gunaka. The pedigree of the family derived from Yaduvamsa does not appear in their grants till about the 10th century when they appear to have entered into marriage relations with the Cholas who were now assigned to the solar race. This Yaduvamśa pedigree is neither taken from the Mahābhārata nor the Bhāgavata and is a riddle as discussed in detail in our note.

The Eastern Chālukya kings took the title usually of Mahārāja, some adding Mahārājādhiraja, Parmesvara and Parama Bhattāraka. Their favourite Biruda was Vishama-Siddhi taken by the first king Vishnuvardhana.

(meaning the conqueror of strongholds or difficult places). They sometimes called themselves the Āśraya of something like the early Western Chalukyas: but they gave up the title of Vallabha which was now appropriated, so to speak, by Mahārāshtra kings namely those of the Rāshtrakūta family, following the usage of the Early Chalukyas

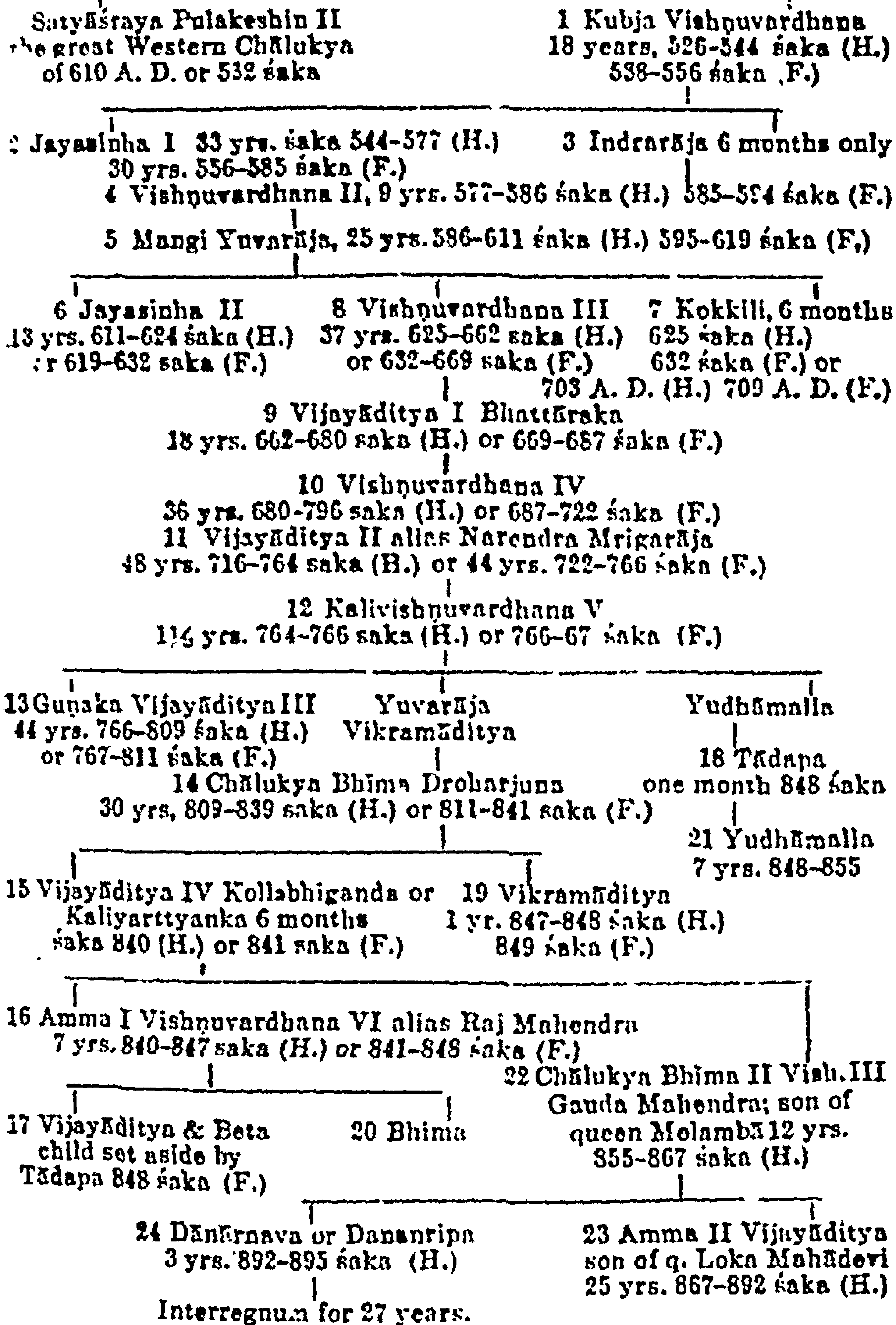
Lastly, it would be interesting to notice a few further facts mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his paper on the Eastern Chālukyas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX). Firstly the seal of the Eastern Chālukyas contained the legend Sri Tribhuvanānkuśa (श्री त्रिभुवनाङ्कुश) always. The last grant of Vīrachoda however shows above it a boar—the usual Lānchana—half standing half couchant, to the proper left, Sun and Moon umbrella, conchshell, doubledrum and two Chauries; and the lower part an elephant, an ox-goad; an expanded water-lily and a device resembling the letter यु. These latter are omitted in seals on other grants. The Chellur grant of Vīrachoda enumerates the Chālukya ensignias, the white umbrella, the single conchshell, Panchamahā-Sabda, Pāliketana, double drum, boar crest, bunch of feathers of peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the Makaratorana, golden sceptre, Gangā and Yamunā and others unspecified.* A similar list occurs in the Ganga grants of Kalinga Nagara. Their importance and meaning which is a riddle to many including Dr. Fleet we will try to elucidate later on. Golden coins of these Eastern Chālukyas are found even in Arakan.

What became eventually of the Eastern Chālukya line? The kingdom of Vengi of course disappeared under the Chola supremacy. Some later Chālukyas, however, still ruled there. They claimed descent from the child son of Amma I who was set aside by Tādapa. He was not killed and he grew somewhere and had many generations after him. The last Malla Vishnuvardhana has left an inscription dated 1202 A. D. Some Chālukya kings or chiefs are found in the west to the south of the Tungabhadrā also.

* The relevent portion in the Chellur grant may be quoted here. Speaking of the original founder of the Chālukya race viz. विष्णुवर्धन who was born an orphan of the हारिती queen it is said "स च माता विदितवृत्तान्तः सन् निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नन्दाभगवतीं गौरीमाराध्य कुमारनारायणमातृगणांश्च सन्तर्प्य श्वेतातपत्रैकशङ्ख पञ्चमहाशब्द पालिकेतन प्रतिढक्का वराहलाञ्छन पिञ्छकुन्त सिंहासन मकरतोरण कनकदण्ड गङ्गायमुनादीनि स्वकुलक्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानि-साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कदम्बगङ्गादि भूमिपालान्निर्जित्य सेतुनर्मदामध्ये सार्धसप्तलक्षं दक्षिणापथं पालयामास. (S. I. In. Hultsch Vol. I p. 54).

EASTERN CHĀLUKYA PEDIGREE.

(As given by Hultsch in South Ind. Ins. Vol. I p. 32 and with the other dates as proposed by Dr. Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 12 and 283.)



Here ends the first section so to speak of the Eastern Chālukya pedigree, a section which is essentially Deccani or Mahārāshtri or rather Kannada Marātha. The date of the coronation of Amma II is distinctly given in one grant of his and it is Saka 867 Marga. V. 13 Friday etc. which corresponds with Friday 5th Dec 945 A. D. (Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 271).

We now go on to the second section of the Pedigree.

II

24 Dānārnava

Interregnum for
27 years

25 Saktivarman or Chālukya Chandra
12 yrs 925-937 Saka (H.) 926-938 Saka (F.)

26 Vimalāditya m. Sundarā
sister of Rajendra Choda
of Suryavamsa 7 yrs.
937-944 Śaka (H.)
938-945 Śaka (F.)

27 Rājarāja I Vishnuv. VIII
m. Ammangā Devī d. of Rajendra Choda
41 yrs 944-95[illegible] Saka (H.) 954-986 Śaka (F.)

28 Vijayāditya VII received
Vengi from Rajendra Choda
his nephew 15 yrs.
985-1000 Śaka (H.)

Rajendra Choda or Kullottungadeva ascended Choda
throne in Kanchi m. Madhurāntaki d. of Rajendra Choda
gave Vengi to his uncle No. 28 (41 yrs 986-1035)

Vikrama Choda
in the Choda kingdom

29 Rajarāja II
1 yr. 1000-1001 Saka (H.)

30 Vira Choda,
Vishnuv. IX
(ascended the throne
in Saka 1001) a grant
in his 21st year
(1022 Śaka) is found.

In the Chellur grant the coronation exact date of (30) Virachoda is given as Śaka 1001 Bhādrapada Vadya 13, Thursday corresponding to 23 August 1078 A. D. Thursday (Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XX page 284). The coronation

NOTES

I—THE CHANDRAVAMŚA PEDIGREE IN LATER CHĀLUKYA GRANTS.

The Kanastipundi grant of Vimalāditya (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 351) gives the Chandravaṃśa as follows: I (1) Brahmā (2) Mānasa son अत्रि (3) Moon (4) बुध (5) पुरूरवा (6) आयु (7) नहुष (8) ययाति चक्रवर्ती वंशकर्ता (9) पूरुचक्रवर्ती (10) जनमेजयोऽश्वमेधत्रितयस्य कर्ता (11) प्राचीश (12) सैन्ययाति (13) हयपति (14) सार्वभौम (15) जयसेन (16) महाभौम (17) ऐशानक (18) क्रोधानन (19) देवकि (20) रिभुक (21) ऋक्षक (22) मतिनार मखयागयाजी सरस्वतीनदीनाथः (23) कात्यायन (24) नील (25) दुष्यन्त (26) भरत गंगायमुनातीरे यदृच्छिन्न विरतय नृपान् । कृत्वा तथाश्वमेधान् नाम महाकर्म भरत चिरीनोत्थभत (27) भूमन्यु (28) सुहोत्र (29) हस्ती (30) विरोचन (31) अजमील (32) संवरण from तपनसुता तपती (33) सुधन्वा (34) परीक्षित् (35) भीमसेन (36) प्रदीपन (37) शन्तनु (38) विचित्रवीर्य (39) पाण्डु (40) five sons and अर्जुन praised (41) अभिमन्यु (42) परिक्षित् (43) जनमेजय (44) क्षेमुक (45) नरवाहन (46) शतानीक (47) उदयन. II ततःपर नरप्रभृतिष्वविच्छिन्नसन्तानेष्वतीतेष्वसंख्यातेषु भूपतिष्वेकोनषष्टि चक्रवर्तिषु गतेषु तद्वंश्यो विजयादित्यो नाम etc.

Now comparing this list with that given in the Mahābhārata we find many names common. But there are some material differences. They are as follows:- Mbh. Ch. 95 gives the line with मनु-इला-पुरूरवा. From him we have आयु-नहुष-ययाति-पूरु. The line then goes to जनमेजय who performed three अश्वमेध. This makes जनमेजय the same as that of the शतपथ but this is a mistake; for the जनमेजय of शतपथ who performed three अश्वमेध is पारिक्षितजनमेजय; while this जनमेजय is son of पूरु. From जनमेजय, we have प्राचिन्वान्-संयाति-अहंयाति. (The सैन्ययाति and हयपति of the inscription are perhaps a mistake of reading). Then we have सार्वभौम-जयसेन-अवाचीन-अरिह-महाभौम.—(In the inscription अवाचीन and अरिह are omitted). Then we have अयुतनायि-अक्रोधन-देवातिथि-अरिह-ऋक्ष-मतिनार (for the first four we have ऐशानक-क्रोधानन, देवकि and रिभुक which does not appear to be a mistake of reading). Matināra marrying सरस्वती is also mentioned in both. Then we have तंसु-इलिन-दुष्यन्त-भरत. (Here we have कात्यायन and नील instead of the first two). *Bharata performing अश्वमेध on the banks of the Yamunā and the* Ganges is mentioned in both and is the story of the शतपथ repeated. From भरत we have भूमन्यु-सुहोत्र-हस्तिन-विकुण्ठन-अजमीढ-संवरण-कुरु. (Here we have nearly the same names but strangely there is no कुरु in the inscription). From कुरु we have विदूर-अनश्वा-परिक्षित्-भीमसेन-प्रतीप-शंतनु. (If we take कुरु to be सुधन्वा we have two omitted here विदूर and अनश्वा). From शंतनु we have विचित्रवीर्य-पाण्डु-अर्जुन-अभिमन्यु-परीक्षित-जनमेजय. (The names in both are the same). From here there is complete divergence. Mbh. gives जनमेजय शतानीक-अश्वमेधदत्त; while the inscription gives जन०-क्षेमुक-नरवाहन-शतानीक. And from शतानीक the line goes at once to उदयन of the 6th century a contemporary perhaps of बुद्ध, the famous king of कथासरित्सागर whose minister was यौगन्धरायण and who carried away वासवदत्ता daughter of प्रद्योत king of Ujjain. Whence is this genealogy given in the 10th century derived? Of course the difference from Mbh. is not strange. Some Purāṇa must have been followed: which we cannot yet say.

II—ĀNDHRA.

Who were the Āndhras? Where was the Āndhra country? These questions are interesting and we proceed to solve them. The Āndhras were a well-known ancient people, different from the Dravidas in the days of the last recasting of the Mahābhārata i. e. about 300 B. C. Moreover in the Mahābhārata Bhīshma parva list of Indian peoples, they are mentioned in the north under the Aryan and mixed Aryan peoples and not among the mlechhas of the south such as Dravida, Kerala, Chola etc. We therefore take it that in 300 B. C. Āndhra had come entirely under Aryan influence while the territory south of the Krishṇa had not. Āndhra is now looked upon as the territory on the east coast between the Godāvari and the Krishṇā. But in Mahābhārata days it denoted the country above the Eastern Ghats. Aryans appear to have settled in it from Kośala or Nagpur and Raipur. Kalinga was also early Aryanised and it may be possible that the Aryans went into Āndhra from Kalinga; but we prefer to hold that the Aryans penetrated into the Āndhra (Warangal) country from Kośala as there is no mountain to cross here. Now Āndhra even in Hiuen Tsang's days was the name of the country above the Eastern Ghats and the *Vengi country tract along the coast between the Godāvari and* the Krishṇa is called by him Dhanakataka (Amaraoti). In short Vengi is distinct from Trikalinga.

Having shown that Āndhra was always the country above the Ghats, we may state that the Āndhra people were principally Aryans Even now the ethnographical characteristics of the Āndhra people Brahmins and Kshatriyas are distinctly Aryan. The Brahmins of Āndhra or Telangana still continue marriage relations with the Brahmins of the Deccan and hence they must have been one with the Deccan people. The Āndhra kings who became powerful and conquered Pataliputra appear to us to be thus mixed Aryans and not Dravidians and they conquered Paithan and Mahārāshtra also. Their capital is said to be Dhana-kataka, which country too must have been conquered by them and hence its eventual inclusion in the Āndhra territory. We have therefore distinguished the Āndhras from the southern Dravidas and we hold that they were more Aryan than the latter, i.e. not only the Brahmins, but the middle class peoples also in Āndhra were mixed Aryans.

The Āndhras developed a fine literature of their own under the Eastern Chālukya patronage and their ancient work, "The translation of the Mahābhārata" in Telugu is dated the 10th Century A. D. and is said to be highly poetical. Like the Tamils of the further south, the Āndhras too distinguished themselves for learning and even now the Āndhra Brahmins are learned Vaidikas. They are usually Śaivas and rarely Vaishṇavas a circumstance which we shall try to explain later on. What language these Āndhras originally spoke we discuss in the next note.

III—ARYAN ADVANCE INTO SOUTH INDIA

India to the south of the Nerbudda divides itself into two natural portions the first consisting of Berar, the Nizam State and the Bombay Deccan; and the second consisting of what is practically the present Madras Presidency. The former is usually called the Deccan while the latter is called south India. The language in the first is generally Marathi with the exception of Āndhra in the south-east and of the Southern Maratha country in the south-west. The Deccan, as we have shown, was originally sparsely populated by aborigines and hence the Aryan invaders who settled the country gave their language to it. Did the Aryans advance into Āndhra and the Kanarese portions and into the country southwards of both? Did they advance in sufficient numbers so as to impress their language upon the people? If so, why does not their language now prevail there? We will try to answer these questions in this note as there seems to be a great deal of haziness on this subject.

The Pāndyas are the southern-most Indian people throughout ancient Indian literature. They were known to Megasthenes whose account of them shows that they were believed to be mixed Aryans and Dravidians. We may, therefore, believe that the Aryans in small numbers did go right upto Cape Comorin sometime before Buddha and impressed their religious thought, not their language, upon the people. The Pāndyas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, but their name does not, strangely enough, occur in the Bhishmaparva list of Indian peoples. Probably their name is given as Dravida which heads the list of the southern mlechhas and the Pāndyas were unquestionably Dravidas par excellence.

The Aryan settlement of the Deccan took place after this and in sufficient numbers so as to impress not only the Aryan religion but also the Aryan language upon the few people who were there. And this advance torn place probably after Buddha but before Megasthenes. For the Mahābhārata which we place about 250 B. C. includes all the people in the Deccan in the list of northern peoples described as Aryans and mixed Aryans. Even Āndhra and Kuntala are in this list besides Mahārāshtra proper which is covered by Vidharbha, Aśmaka, Pāndurāshtra, Goparāshtra and Mallarāshtra. We believe that the people in Āndhra and in Kuntala who at present speak the Telagu and the Kanarese spoke then the Prakrit Aryan language as we shall presently show. We take it that this advance took place after Buddha because we find many persons, specially the common people, professing the Buddhistic faith.

In the days of Bindusāra son of Chandragupta the Aryans made conquests further south and established principalities as far as the Pennar in the east and the northern boundary of the present Mysore state in the west. Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar following and agreeing with Sir Vincent Smith says in his 'Beginnings of South Indian History'

This view of Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar is supported by epigraphic evidence. We find inscriptions in this part of the country recorded in Prakrit not only down to the first century A. D, but even to the third and the country was ruled by Kshatriyas who professed the Vedic religion. These kingdoms are given by Mr. Dubreuil in his work "Ancient History of the Deccan" just published. The first inscription on a stupa at Jagayyapetha (Krishna District) gives the name of a king called Mādhariputra Śri Vīra Purushadatta of the Ikshvakus, in an alphabet which points to the 3rd century A. D." (p. 86). The inscription (Ind. Ant. XI p. 256) is in Prakrit. 2. The Dāvaṇagere inscription (Ep. Kar. Vol. XI No. 161) mentions a people called Kekayas who intermarried with the Ikshvākus. 3. The Bṛihatphalāyanas mentioned in an inscription of Jayavarman who ruled in Kudura (Krishna District again) are also Vedic Aryans. This inscription is in archaic Prakrit. "The language and phraseology of the inscription is so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śatakarṇi and of Vashishtiputra Pulumāyi that Jayavarman's date cannot have been distant from the date of these two Āndhra kings." (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII p. 315). 4. The next people are the Salankāyanas also a gotra name mentioned in an inscription found at Peddaveggi (Vengi). The plates of king Vīra Devavarman are in Prakrit also. (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX page 56). 5. The Vishṇu Kundims are mentioned in the Ramatirtham grant (Ep. Ind. XI p. 134) and other records. This name is also a gotra name which has now disappeared from the list of gotras. (Gotras it is said in Dharmaśāstra are innumerable and many gotras have disappeared.) 6. The early Pallavas also have left records in Prakrit as we have shown in the body of the book. Lastly 7. the Kadambas of Vanavāsi have also left early records which are in Prakrit. These records prove that Kshatriya Aryans ruled in the frontier of the Tamil land and spoke an Aryan language viz. Prakrit at least in the higher ranks, viz. the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.

The point we have further to urge is that these Aryan-Brahmins and Kshatriyas were allied to the Deccan Aryans i. e. the ancestors of the Marathas of the modern day. Not only do these Aryans i. e. Brahmins of Āndhra and Kanara intermarry with the Brahmins of the Deccan but we find from an inspection of these Prakrit records that the language therein used is allied to the Mahārāshtrī. Thus the inscription at Jagayyapetha mentions Kamakaraṭho the Raṭra or Rāshtra of Kamaha. The word Rāshtra belongs to the Mahārāshtras and points to this king being a Maratha Kshatriya. Again the word Apaṇo instead of Attaṇo (Sans. Ātmano) is the Marathi word Āpaṇa. So again the inscription of the Brihatphalāyana Jayavarman uses the expression पहरइजम for Sanskrit नंदकृष्णायेंद्र which is plainly Marathi. Here we have the Marathi word खेडोम्म for रहेंद्र and the word अज for आर्य is not modern Telagu which uses अत्ता but is plainly the parent of the Marathi आजा. The inscriptions lastly of the Pallavas and the Kadambas about this

time viz the first to the 3rd century A. D. are in Prakrit and the representatives of these are plainly the modern Maratha families Pālav and Kadam.

The Prakrit inscription of the Kadambas on the Malavalli pillar especially leaves no doubt that Mahārāshtri must have been spoken so far south as the northern part of the present state of Mysore On this inscription Mr. Rice at page 6 of his introduction to the Ep. Karna. Vol. VII observes: "From the script, style and situation of this inscription and the relationship of the donee, it is evidently not removed very far in time from the first inscription of Śātakarni which precedes it. I have therefore marked its date as 250 A. D. The Prakrit employed is the Mahārāshtarī form, and Dr. Buhler considered the inscription as evidence that this was already at that time a cultivated language in the south" Thus inscriptions indubitably prove that the Mahārāshtri in a cultivated form was spoken in the country now the home of Kanarese. This is not to be wondered at as this part of the country was ruled by Mahārathis in the days of the Śātakarnis and the Kadambas. Even coins bearing the legend in Prakrit सडकण [illegible] महारठिस have been found in the west of Chitaldurg Mysore State. Not only this tradition as recorded in the Harivaṃśa shows that the kingdom of Banavāsi was originally founded by a son of Yadu from a Nāga wife and Banavasi is described in the Harivaṃsa as situated *in a forest with red soil about it* Banavasi is plainly the modern Kanarese country. Thus the country was settled by Mahārathis and was ruled by Mahārathis down to the days of Kadambas. It seems probable that after their rule the language changed into Kanarese under the rule of the Gangas.

All these facts are also admitted and recorded by V. Kanakasabhai in his "Tamils 1800 years ago" At page 29 he observes that the northern limit of Tamilicam was on the east Verkadu or Pulikat and that beyond was the country of the Vadukas. The King of Erami Nadu was also called the chief of the Vadukars. It is evident therefore that at this early period the people north of Tirupati and those who resided in Mysore (north) spoke one and the same language Vaduki. The Kanarese and the Āndhras thus in those ancient days spoke according to our view a northern language which was Mahārāshtri and were also related to the Mahārathis of the Deccan. The Nāyaks and the Reddis are descended from ancestors allied in race and language to the ancestors of the Marathas. The name Vadukar is even now applied to these and though Dr. Caldwell says that Vaduki meant old Telagu, the older language of the Vadukars and the Āndhras must have been an Aryan language. Mr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar expresses his opinion in connection with this subject as follows "I have no doubt that the Āndhras of the Mahāratta country were spoken of by the Tamils as Aryans That would only confirm the present day notion that the language Marathi is itself called Aryan"

CHAPTER XII

We come next to the history of Orissa or Odra as it is called in ancient Sanskit literature. We have a very interesting history of Orissa from the pen of that gifted author Sir William Hunter and we will follow him generally except in a few points. His research at the date of his writing his history is remarkably thorough while his manner of depicting scenes and events belongs to a higly imaginative writer. Sir William Hunter doubtless based the ancient history of Orissa on the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the temple of Jagannath, the most famous temple of Orissa.

According to Hunter Orissa is the Prakrit form of the word Odra-desa which is very plausible. Orissa is a strip of land bounded by the sea on the east and the Vindhya hills on the west. It extends length-wise from the-western most mouth of the Ganges to a remarkable lake in the south called the Chilka lake. This lake has been formed owing to the low level of the land, the water from the sea floing into it at tide-time. It is separated from the sea by a narrow ridge of land formed by the deposit of silt from the mountains brought down by the big rivers of Orissa the chief of which is of course the Mahānadi. In this strip of land owing to its fertility immigrations have come in from time to time The most ancient one was that of the Aryans whose pioneers, the Brahmins, were conspicuous in founding settlensnts even in Dandakāranya. These Aryan Brahmins soon imposed their religion and their langnage upon the aboriginal people who were non-Aryans and Kaivartas or fishermen by profession. Odra naturally became a prosperous province but like Anga, Vanga and Kalinga it continued to be a banned land for pure Aryans. The Manusmriti mentions the Odras as mlechhas, and it was not considered proper for good Aryans to go to this country.

After the Vedic Aryans, came the Buddhist. We know that Asoka when he conquered Kalinga further south slaughtered many people and from that time by a revulsion of feeling became inclined towards the religion of non-slaughter. From his time i. e. about 250 B.C. Buddhism reigned supreme in Orissa for several centuries. Sir William Hunter relates on the authority of the palm-leaf[1] records that this Buddhist native rule was supplanted by a king named Red-Arm (रक्तबाहु) who came about 323 A.D. and his descendants ruled in Orissa till 474 A.D. (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p 206)

Who were these invaders. The temple archives call them Yavanas and Hunter has no doubt that they were so He has given a most detailed history of the ancient Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks who had kingdoms in the Panjab and who invaded Ayodhya and Magadha under Menander in the second century B C. It is not improbable that some of these Yavana adventurers sailed down the Ganges and came by sea to Orissa in course of time. That there were Yavana kingdoms in the central parts of India is proved not only from inscriptions but from the Purāṇas themselves Of the Kailakila or Kainkila Yavanas mentioned in the Purāṇas we shall speak later on. Here it will suffice to note that Yavana adventurers, it is not strange, founded a kingdom in Orissa in about 320A.D. and continued to rule down to 474 A. D. These Yavanas were a maritime people and it is supposed that under their guidance the Hindus went to Java about this period. Whatever that may be, these Yavanas appear to be Buddhists like the Kāilakila Yavanas of the Central Provinces. The fact is that foreigners whether in past or present times are always partial to Buddhism; because Hinduism is exclusive and there is no ready admission to foreigners in its fold Sir W. Hunter attributes this tendency to the higher ethical excellence of Buddhism But it seems that there was nothing to choose between Hinduism and Buddhism of the fifth century A.D. so far as higher doctrines were concerned and superstition was as rempant in Buddhism as in

Hinduism at that time. But Buddhism was a proselytizing religion while Hinduism was not and hence Yavanas and Śakas and others turned Buddhists sooner than Hindus. But it must be remembered that caste in the fifth century A.D. was as strong among Buddhists as among the Hindus in spite of the fact that Buddhiism started with the denial of caste in the beginning. The sentiment of caste is buried deep down the Indian heart and we see caste at the present day assert itself even among the Christian converts of the south. Under the influence of caste a new people though admitted to Buddhism or even to Hinduism lived as a separate caste bound by interdiction of marriage with others among the hundred and one castes that already existed

To return to the Yavanas who conquered Orissa, they were Buddhists and ruled the country according to the chronicles till 474 A. D. These Yavanas or Greeks have left Buddhistic monutments in caves and in images of gods and men with Greek profiles unmistakably detectable as stated by archæolgists a fact which well fits in with the view that these rulers were really Bactrian Greeks. This dynansty was overthrown by one Yayâti Kesari according to the palm-leaf records in 474 A.D. The kings of this Kesari line were worshippers of Śiva as elsewhere; though of course they reverenced Vishṇu also as the All-preserver "For 150 years Buddhism and Śiva worship struggled for victory when the contest practically ceased. The reigning monarch was a worshipper of the all-Destroyer with Bhuvaneśvara the temple city of Śiva as his capital. Year after year the Buddhist hermits in their cave-dwellings gazed across the five miles of fruit-bearing groves towards the great tower of Śiva slowly rising in the distance. Of the 7000 shrines which clustered rouud it, not more than 500 or 600 survive. They exhibit every stage of Orissa art from the rough conceptions of the sixth century through the exquisite designs and the ungrudging artistic toil of the 12th, the exquisite friezes, scrolls, and carvings which adorn these long deserted walls," (Hunters Orissa Vol. 1 pp. 233-234)

The chronicles and Sir W. Hunter place the rise of the Śaivite dynasty of Kesari kings in 474 A. D. But they place the success of Bhuvaneśvara 150 years later i. e. in about 624 A.D. It seems that this must be put a little later still. As we have said before, Orissa was conquered by Harsha and was held under him. When Hiuen Tsang visited the land, Buddhism was still supreme there. He records "The people reverence the law. There are a hundred monasteries and 50 temples. There were myriads of Buddhists" (The fertility of the land also is noticed by the Chinese traveller who remarks that the fruit here were larger than elsewhere). It seems, therefore, that the Kesari dynasty though established was not yet powerful and was subordinate to Harsha. They must have asserted themselves and their religion, as elsewhere in India, after Harsha's death

The dates of the building of the Bhuvaneśvara temple given by the palm-leaf records also support this theory. 'The founder began the lofty fane about 500 A. D. Two succeeding monarchs laboured on it and the fourth completed it in A. D. 657." Thus the completion of the temple of Śiva at Bhuvaneśvara took place after Harsha's death. A slab inscription further recounts that a pious princess built another cloud-reaching temple with four beautiful halls to Lord Śiva. "The only event by which the palm-leaf records relieve the monotonous list of kings of the ninth century is the erection of a Śiva temple in Puri, the city which was destined, later on, to become the centre of the rival worship of Vishṇu. This Mārkandeśvara temple in Puri was built by Kundala Kesari in 811-829 A. D. (Purushottama Chandrikā p. 31 quoted by Hunter p. 237).

The Kesari kings were not only great builders of stupendous temples to Śiva-temples the adornments of which are more decorous than those which in a sense disfigure the later temples of Vishṇu in Orissa; but they were also great restorers of the Brahmin religion. They invited and settled a colony of Brahmins from northern India in much the same way as orthodox kings in Bengal and elsewhere

did later on. "The local legends and the palm-leaf records alike relate that the founder of the long-haired or Lion line imported ten thousand Brahmins from Oudh and endowed them with lands round Jaipur on the sacred Vaitaraṇi river. They professed the royal religion and were Śaivites to a man. They found already settled Brahmins who were, however, once Buddhists. These latter were allowed to retain the title of Brahmins but they were interdicted all intercourse with the new settlers. They were of course denied the Jus Connubi from the first and these nominal Brahmins formed a distinct caste which by degrees sank into the mass of the peasant population." "They are still found in Orissa as good cultivators and are known as Laukika Brahmins and still wear a dirty Brahmanical thread over their half naked body" (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p. 239). This settlement of Northern Brahmins and the consequent division of Orissa Brhmins into Laukika and Vaidika is typical of the social evolution of the higher classes throughout India with its sub-divisions of castes which appear at first inexplicable but which show how centuries of profession of the Buddhistic faith differentiated Brahmins from Brahmins and Kshatriyas from Kshatriyas and led to the present strange prohibition of marriage and even food between subdivisions of the same chief caste or Varna.

Bhuvaneśvara was the old capital of the Kesari line raised within the shadow of Buddhistic remains. The settlement at Jaipur was a new religious capital. Between them lay the delta of the Mahānadi. The Jaipur colony flourished. It was visited according to Cunningham by Hiuen Tsang though this seems doubtful; but in the sixteenth century the great battle between the Mahomedans and the Hindus was certainly fought under its walls and the city was taken by the Mahomedans and was as usual devastated. "Its ruins attest its ancient grandeur. Its dilapidated temples and colossal images retain an inviolate sanctity in the mind of devout Hindus. To the annalist it

possesses a higher interest as the greatest and best-attested settlement of priests from the north planted by royal authority to impose a new dynastic creed on the Indian population." (p. 241 ditto.)

Some of these ruins and thrown down images are graphically described by Sir W. Hunter and we will notice them in brief. They are still well preserved for "even the icono-clast fu·y of Islam and the vandalism of the English public works department have failed to obliterate the artistic magnificence of the Lion line. A well proportioned column rises above the jungle and bears traces of the impotent fury of the Mussulman troops. The Afgans tried to drag it down by chains and teams of elephants; but the barbarian conquerors of the sixteenth century found themselves unable to destroy the graceful Hindu creations of the tenth. They, however, managed to pull down the sacred Vulture (गरुड) which crowned its capital and the exquisite shaft lifts its dishonoured head in witness against a creed which sought the glory of God in the destruction of the finest works of man" (ditto p. 267).

The most important and colossal statues were also preserved owing to their being thrown down on their faces. They lay prone for more than two centuries when in 1866 they were raised and set up by a spirited English magistrate; and have been placed on the river bank amid most of the public buildings. "Three statues each of one enormous block of chlorite towering even in their sitting posture far above the heads of puny mortals represent the queen of Heaven (Indrāni) the Earth goddess who took upon herself a mortal form to become the wife of the Boar incarnation (Vārāhi) and the goddess of Destruction (Kāli).

These colossal monoliths must have been dragged across the river-intercepted delta from the mountains a hundred miles off and their hard blue stone still bears witness to the fine chiselling of the Hindu Art of 900 to 1000 A. D. The queen of Heaven, a four-armed goddess, sits in calm majesty with an admirably cut elephant as her footstool. A muslin drapery falls in delicate curves to her feet and is

fastened by a girdle at the waist. Her hair towers up in a cone of curls inter-woven with jewels with a single massive tress hanging down upon either shoulder. The Earth goddess sits with her infant son on the knee and like the other two consists of a colossal monolith eight feet high by four in breadth. She has four arms also and the little finger of her left hand proves that Hindu ladies of that remote period wore rings. She sits on a finely carved buffalo the artistic lines of whose head and muzzle are striking. A temple to her husband the Boar incarnation crowns a time-worn flight of stairs leading up from the river.

"The most striking, however, of the three monoliths is the wife of the all-Destroyer—a colossal naked skeleton with the skin hanging to the bones and the veins and muscles standing out in ghastly fidelity. This appalling symbol of human decay has her hair brushed back under a snake fillet, with a death's head over the forehead and the distended hood of the cobra as canopy above. Her serpent tresses fall down in twisted horror over her cheeks. An endless string of skulls winds round her neck, her breast, her loins and her whole body. She sits upon a small figure of her husband and the whole rests upon a lotus-leafed pedestal." Figures of the seven mothers and another statue of the goddess of destruction with the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha thrown down at her feet adorn a beautiful gallery carved on this very bank (H. O. Vol. 1 268-269). These and other sculptures testify to the great skill of Hindu workers during the Kesari rule in Orissa and bear witness to the great imagination of these sculptors and the mechanical skill of ancient engineers who could transport such big stones a hundred miles in those days before the introduction of modern mechanical appliances.

But the skill of Orissa ancient engineers is still more exhibited in the bridge which they have built over the southern branch of the Mahānadi. "The earlier kings of the Kesari line held their court sometimes at Bhuvaneśvara the city of temples to Śiva and sometimes at Jaipur the city of his priests on the holy river. But a warlike prince

who reigned from 953 to 961 A. D. perceived the military strengh of the tongue of land where the Mahānadi first divides itself into several branches and founded Cuttack which is still the capital of the province. He shut up the river by means of a masonry embankment, several miles long, which at present consists of enormous blocks of hewn stone in some places 25 feet high. His successor strengthened the new capital by an outlying fortress on the southern bank of the river, while a century later the reigning king built the massive bridge by which pilgrims enter Puri at this day. The bridge consists of masses of red stone called laterite (which is soft when first quarried but grows harder by exposure to the air) and spans 290 feet of water-way by means of eighteen arches the central one being 18 feet high by fourteen feet broad. " The Hindu architects of that day did not know how to turn an arch but they had a device of their own *scarcely less skilful*, applied equally to the lofty towers of temples and to the humblest gate-way. It is what may be called the inverted stair" ; each stone lay projecting out from that below. Thus was the Mahānadi bridge built by skilful engineers of the Hindus of the 10th and 11th century A. D.

Beyond their prosperity and their great temples and buildings we have little to record of the politics of the Kesari line of kings of Orissa. As the palm-leaf records show, this dynasty began in about 500 A. D. but their real power and independence began with 657 A. D. the date of the completion of the Bhuvaneśvara temple to Śiva after Harsha's death. They were orthodox worshippers of Śiva and invited thousands of Śaivite Brahmins of Oundh and settled them at Jaipur where they are still to be found in the enjoyment of lands given to them in fee by devout kings more than a thousand years back. These kings continued to rule down to 1132 A. D. according to the palm-leaf records in their capital Cuttack (which was built about 1030 A. D.) when a revolution took place and the Kesari line of kings came to an end. A religious revolution also happened about this time and in a sense Buddhism

reared its head again in the form of Vaishṇavism. Both this religious change and political revolution belong to the third portion of our period, and we finish this history of Orissa here to return again to it in the third volume of our history.

The Kesari line rule thus lasted from about 500 to 1132 A. D. a period of about 600 years which is very long indeed. But we have said that in outlying territories such long-lived dynasties are not uncommon as for instance in Assam. The palm-leaf records of Jagannath are, however, not wholly reliable and there are other records which contradict them as shown by Sir William Hunter himself. According to the palm-leaf records the Kesari line consisted of 44 kings from 500 A. D. to 1132 A. D. (not an improbable period viz. 600 years for 44 kings) when it gave place to the Ganga line of kings. But the other records place a sun-worshipping line between the Kesari line and the Ganga line. These other records according to Hunter are not quite reliable ; but the fact cannot be denied that there must have been a sun-worshipping line of kings sometime before the introduction of the Vishṇu worship of Jagannath. For we have in Orissa the most beautiful temple of the sun that exists in India or anywhere else and also a monolith pillar still standing which is almost a wonder of the world. This history of the sun-worshippers too we reserve to our second volume.

As there is very little political history to record, we refrain from giving a list of the Kesari kings which Hunter has assiduously collected and given in an appendix. Orissa must have been more than once conquered during this period by kings from the north, and we have an actual mention in the Nepal inscription of Jayadeva that Harshadeva of Assam did conquer Odra. Yet such conquests either from the north or the south were always temporary and only nominal and the indepndence of the Kesari line was not interfered with. These kings themselves cared very little for external conquests though perhaps Kongadu of Hiuen Tsang i. e. Ganjam in the south and Tāmralipti or Midnapur in the north may often have formed part of the kingdom of Orissa, under the Kesari kings.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EASTERN KINGDOMS

(1) THE GUPTAS OF GAUDA

We now turn to the kingdoms of the east. This eastern portion of India naturally divides itself into three parts, Behar with Magadha, western Bengal and Eastern Bengal. The ancient names of eastern countries in India were Anga, Vanga and Kalinga; but Magadha and Odra are also ancient names and all these were usually subject to one and the same great power. When the name Gauda first came into use for this part cannot well be determined. That it was a new name we have not the smallest doubt. The Mahābhārata does not mention it nor even, it seems, Varāhamihira of the 5th century A D. Gauda or Guda is strangely enough mentioned by him as the name of the country round Thanesar,* but we had forgotten this fact so completely that it was a discovery indeed of Jackson. Gauda according to our present notions is nothing but Bengal. We must, however, recognise the fact that Gauda is a name which originally belonged to the country to the north-west of Delhi. The Brahmins of that part of the country still call themselves Ādigauda or the original Gaudas. It seems probable that some time about the 5th or 6th century A. D. many of these Brahmins, probably under the stress of the Huns, migrated eastward and settled in Western Bengal. The country thus came to be called Gauda. In the inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries this part is certainly called Gauda. Bāṇa for instance (620 A. D.) in the Harsha Charita calls Śaśānka king of Gauda while Hiuen Tsang calls him king of Karṇasuvarṇa. Karṇa-Suvarṇa then was certainly Gauda in about 600 A.D. And Gupta kings probably a branch of the Gupta imperial line ruled here. Śaśānka's rule continued for a long time even after 606 A. D. i. e. after he had killed Rājya-

*Varāhamihira mentions Guda among middle countries while among eastern countries he mentions Bhadra Gaudaka along with Paundra and others.

varadhana by treachery and it seems probable that Harsha though he must have conquered Śaśānka pardoned him and married his daughter who had been offered to Râjya. When Hiuen Tsang visited it, Saśānka was probably dead. He describes the people of Karṇasuvarṇa (modern Murshidabad) as fond of learning, with 50 monasteries and 100 Deva temples, showing that Buddhism was in a minority in western Bengal even then.

The next mention we have of Gauda in ancient records found so far is that of the Gupta family of Ādityasena. This must be another Gupta branch. According to our view already detailed it was a branch Gupta line which had come from Malwa, after Deva-gupta the enemy of Grahavarman had been slain. Mādhava Gupta, his half brother, was a friend and follower of Harsha and during or after Harsha's rule, his own Mālava kingdom having been seized and forfeited, he founded a kingdom in Magadha. The Aphsad inscription describes Ādityasena the donor as a son of Mādhava-gupta "a friend of Harsha" in 66 H. E. or 672 A. D. The inscription was drawn out by a *Gauda* named Śūkshma Śiva. The literary excellence of the Gaudas may be seen even at that time in this inscription an excellence which coutinues down to this day. Magadha and Gauda or western Bengal appear then to have been under one ruler and the same thing appears from the Gaudavaho which we next proceed to notice. In this poem, as we have said before, Yaśovarman of Kanauj is said to have invaded Gauda and killed the Gauda king in battle. The king is said to be Magadhādhipa also. Who was this king? We have placed Yaśovarman between 675 and 715 A.D. following S. P. Pandit. From the Deo-Barnak inscription of Jīvita-gupta we get the following line from Mādhava– 1 Mādhava 2 Ādityasena (672 A. D.) 3 Devagupta 4 Vishṇugupta and 5 Jīvitagupta. The date of the latter is not given and we have to surmise it. The king killed in the battle with Yaśovarman is said by some to be Jīvitagupta himself This battle was fought before Yaśovarman was conquered by Lalitāditya of Kashmir in about 700 A. D. Hence

according to our dates the king killed in Gauda must have been Devagupta. Of course as there was no annexation of kingdoms practically in those days his son succeeded. And perhaps it may have been his son Vishṇugupta who was conquered by Lalitāditya and who in some year later than 700 having again taken up arms against the distant Lalitāditya was again conquered and taken a prisoner to Kashmir where, inspite of an oath to the contrary, he was murdered as related in Kashmir history. He was succeeded by Jīvitagupta whose record, the Dev-Barṇak inscription, has been found. This line of the Guptas we have identified as the Mālwa branch for many reasons and two names properly recur Devagupta and this name Jīvitagupta. (See Gupta pedigree given in Book I). The date of Jīvitagupta approximately may be taken to be 732 A.D. taking 20 years for each generation and Muktāpīda's reign Kalhana has rightly assigned as lying between 699 and 735 A. D. (see Kashmir pedigre Chap. I). We take it as very probable that Jīvitagupta was not the king murdered in Kashmir. From the Dev-Barṇak inscription of this king we find that Ādityasena was a worshipper of Vishṇu (परमभागवत) and his queen was Kōṇadevī (both facts appear from the Apsad inscription also), that their son Devagupta was a worshipper of Śiva परममाहेश्वर) and his queen was Kamalādevī, that his son was Vishnugupta also a worshipper of Śiva and his wife was Ijyādevī and that their son Jīvitagupta was probably a worshipper of the sun (the word here after parama is unfortunately not readable) for he made or rather confirmed a grant for the worship of the sun. Thus it will appear that these Guptas were not Buddhists. Perhaps Mādhava may have been a Buddhist like and following Harsha, but as after Harsha's death Buddhism was everywhere supplanted, in Gauda too we have a revival of Hinduism or Aryanism and the worship of Śiva, Vishṇu and the sun was re-established. The story of the vengeance which according to the Rājataranginī the loyal servants of the Gauda king murdered in Kashmir took on the god Parihāsa—Keshava whose oath was violated is touching and illustrative of the great love and

personal affection which loyal servants often bore towards their royal masters in India.

The next reference to the Guptas of Gauda is in an inscription of the Nepal king Jayadeva dated Harsha era. 153 equivalent to 769 A. D. (Ind. Ant. IX p. 178). This inscription gives two important facts. Jayadeva's father Śivadeva had married a daughter of king Bhogavarman of the warlike Maukhari line and she was "the grand-daughter of the *great* Magadha king Ādityasena" Now this mention of the grand-father shows that the Magadha king was the greater of the two. We think that this was the same Gupta line continued, the name Ādityasena recurring in 769 A.D. from 672 A. D. This further shows that there was a line of Maukhari kings contiguous to Magadha probably in Bihar to whom the Guptas usually gave their daughters in marriage and this Maukhari king gave his daughter in marriage to the Kshatriya Lichhavi king of Nepal which is contiguous to Bihar. This Maukhari king Bhogavarman probably belonged to the same subsidiary line as gave the kings Śardūla and others already mentioned and was an offshoot very probably from the chief Maukhari line of Kanauj (see Book I). We have as yet discovered no further mention of the Guptas of Gauda in inscriptions. Probably these later Guptas, descendants of Mādhava of about 650 A. D. disappeared about 800 A. D. when a new line of kings appeared in Magādha as we shall show in our next volume.

(2) VANGA

Vanga was distinct from Gauda in the 7th and 8th centuries. But Vanga is an ancient name, Anga (Bihar) and Vanga (Bengal) being always mentioned together. The name Vanga was in fact applicable to the whole province and the word Bengal which is derived therefrom is properly applied to it as a whole. But Vanga was in these two centuries denotative of Eastern Bengal. When Yaśovarman conquered Gauda in battle he is said in the Gaudavaho to have gone further east and conquered Vanga. Again in two Rāshtrakūta inscriptions it is said that the ruler of Kanauj had invaded and conquered Bengal and

pīda going alone and unattended to Paundravardhana where a king Jayanta ruled. He gave him his daughter and the latter is said to have conquered 5 neighbouring kings in behalf of his father-in-law. The years of Jayāpīda's reign are 751-782 A. D. (see Kashmir chronology). King Harshadeva of Kāmarupa (Assam) mentioned in an inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal dated 769 A. D. noticed before is said to have conquered Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Koṣala (गौडोड्रादिकलिङ्गकोसलपतिः). This shows that none of these Bengal kingdoms were strong during this period and tha tthey were constantly subject to foreign invasions.

(3) THE BHAGADATTA LINE OF KĀMARUPA OR ASSAM.

We have already noticed this line of kings of Assam when Hiuen Tsang visited it, Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman was the king. The same line of Branmin kings continued through the two centuries herein treated of. We have above noted the name of Harshadeva who is said to have given his daughter to Jayadeva of Nepal (भगदत्तराज-कुलजा). This line though Brahmin, as usual, gave daughters to and married daughters from Kshatriya families. The Assam kings were sometimes powerful enough to conquer Gauda, Vanga, Odra etc. They themselves owing to their mountain-girdled territory continued undisturbed. Or is tradition only beguiling us in showing that there was only one line of kings for thousands of years? Such exceptional lines no doubt are to be seen in the Himalayan regions. But even here we may be mistaken and different dynasties may have succeeded one another as usual after a duration of 150 or 200 years. The traditions, however, usually give one continuous line for thousands of years. One fact at least may be admitted; these countries in the inaccessible Himalayan regions continued to enjoy independence, undisturbed by the ambitions of conquering races, which usually overspread the plains. How long this Bhagadatta (of the Mahābhārata fame) line continued we cannot say. It certainly was ruling in Assam about 800 A. D. with which our first period of mediæval Hindu history closes.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VARMĀS OF KANAUJ

We now come to Mid-India and the most important kingdom of Mid-India was of course Kanauj. The whole of Northern India or rather the present U. P. was then under the dierct control of Kanauj and the rest of Hindustan was often under its nominal suzerainty. When Harsha died about 647 A. D. he left this vast empire without a claimant. He had no son. It is not clear whether Rājyaśri was then alive; even if she were, she too was not the proper heir and had no male issue. The kingdom or empire therefore at once plunged into anarchy and it is natural that usurpers should have found room for satisfying their ambition. But the story which Sir V. Smith and other historians here set forth about the usurpation of the whole kingdom by a minister named Arjuna or Aruṇāśva and his defeat by a Chinese envoy is unreliable and has most probably been misunderstood. It is from Chinese authorities that this story is taken and in that story the natural desire of the Chinese to exaggerate their own importance and valour is so evident that the story has only to be related to be at once rejected as unreliable. The Chinese envoy insulted by Arjuna, escaped into Tibet, it is related, and returned with 1200 picked Tibetan soldiers supported by a Nepalese contingent of 7000 horsemen (Nepal being at this time subject to Tibet). "With this *small* army the envoy Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains and after a siege of three days succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhut. Three thousand of the garrison were taken prisoners and 10000 were drowned in the river Bāgmati. Arjuna fled and having collected a fresh force offered battle. He was again defeated and taken prisoner. The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners and obtained more than 30000 horse and cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns offered their submission and Kumāra the king of Eastern India who had attended Harsha's religious assemblies sent

abundant supplies of cattle and accoutrements. Wang-hiuen-tse took the usurper prisoner to China and Tirhut remained subject to Tibet for some time."—(Smith's Early Hist. of India 3rd Edn. p. 353).

The absurdity of this exaggerated story is so apparent *that it is a wonder that historians like Smith have not* seen it in its true proportions. The difference between Indian and Chinese or Tibetan civilizations and armaments was then not great—was in fact nil—and it is impossible to believe that a few hundred Tibetans could defeat several thousand Indians and annihilate them as the English did the Mahomedans at Plassey or the Hindus at Assaye. Moreover, if Arjuna had usurped Harsha's throne, where was the mighty military machine which Harsha had reared and by which he had conquered and kept in subjection the whole of Northern India? And why was the fall of Tirhut sufficient to humble the usurper and why was not Kanauj itself besieged? ' The scene is laid at Tirhut and not at Kanauj and the story may easily be reduced to its true proportions. What really happened must have been something like the following.

Who succeeded Harsha *at Kanauj* is not known. But natural it is that his death was a signal for a political as well as a religious revolution. Buddhism under Harsha's imperial encouragement had had its last lustre, all the effulgence which preceeds death and it may be believed that the forces of Hinduism which were already gathering strength even during the life time of Harsha (as evidenced by the attempt on Hiuen Tsang's life at Prayāga) became supreme after his death and it may be surmised that both Harsha and Rājyaśrī being gone, an orthodox Hindu claimant of the original Varmā family seated himself on the throne of Kanauj. In the provinces of the empire dependent states and even governors must have become independent. These, at the same time, being strongly inclined towards the reviving Hinduism were opposed to Buddhism. Arjuna was one such petty governor or ruler of Tirhut or modern Bihar. The Chinese Buddhistic

mission probably to Buddha Gayā which came to India in 647 A.D. had to pass, on leaving Nepal, through the territory of this Tirhut governor and it was probably set upon by this orthodox Hindu petty Raja who might have entertained a deadly hatred towards these Chinese Buddhistic missions, now that Harsha no longer lived. The envoy escaped, went back to Tibet, obtained some aid from that country and Nepal and fought with this petty Raja of Tirhut and perhaps even took him prisoner; Kumāra who was friendly to Hiuen Tsang and to Harsha and to Buddhism may have assisted the Chinese envoy with supplies. In short it was a purely local affair and Arjuna cannot be supposed to have seized the throne and power of Harsha himself.

Who succeeded Harsha? As we have said above, it must have been some Varmā king of the Maukhari line. There is not the least doubt that about the end of the 7th century there was a Varmā king named Yaśovarman on the throne of Kanauj and he held extensive sway and had great power. He was a great patron of letters and he had at his court the celebrated poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāj. In the Gaudavaho, a Prakrit poem by Vākpatirāj in praise of his exploit in conquering a Gauda king we are told that he was a Somavaṃśi Kshatriya. The Maukhari Varmās, we have already remarked, were probably lunar line Kshatriyas. . This Yaśovarman aimed at the suzerainty of the whole of Northern India like Harsha and began his *digvijaya* by conquering the Gauda king who was as we have also seen before, a hereditary enemy of the Varmās of Kanauj. Whether this Ganda king was a Gupta, what city he ruled in and how he was killed we are not told in the Gaudavaho. Probably the poem as we have it is only an introductory chapter to a bigger poem which the poet intended to write. But the later reverses of Yaśovarman put a stop to the composition of this greater work. For we know from contemporary records that Yaśovarman was *certainly* defeated by the Kashmir king Muktāpida Lalitāditya who also aspired to the empire of India,

and that Yaśovarman was also *very prvbably* defeated by a Chālukya king of the Deccan. The story of Lalitāditya's conquest of Yaśovarman we have already detailed in the history of Kashmir and we may merely refer to the fact that this defeat must have happened about the close of the 7th century, only a few years after the accession of Lalitāditya in 697 A. D. i. e. about 700 A. D., notwithstanding the difficulty created by Chinese accounts which we have already discussed in a note. The defeat of Yaśovarman by a Chālukya king must have happened before this event as we now go on to relate. Here it must first be stated by way of closing the previous history, that Yaśovarman must have conquered the Gauda king about 680 or 690 A. D. at the latest and must therefore have come to the throne in about 675 A. D. Between Harsha's death in 647 and Yaśovarman's accession i. e. between 647 and 675 A. D. two kings of the Varmā line must have reigned. Who they were history has not yet discovered for no inscriptions have yet been found which throw a light on this point. But Yaśovarman's power and ambition seem consistent with the usual course of history wherein we usually find the third king in a new line rising to the greatest glory (witness Pulakeshin II, Akbar, Nana Saheb Peshwa, Lalitāditya himself and many others)

To turn to the defeat of Yaśovarman by the Deccanese we have seen in the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi that Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya and grandson of the famous Pulakeshin II who defeated Harsha is mentioned in many inoriptions to have defeated *a northern* king. This point has remained a riddle and has not yet been solved. We find that this Vinayāditya ruled from 680 A. D. to 696 A. D. In his grants found dated up to 616 Śaka or 694 A. D. there is no mention of his having defeated a northern king. Hence it must follow that he defeated a northern king between 694 and 696 A. D. a date which tallies well with our theory that Yaśovarman in his *digvijaya* attacked the south like Harsha after his conquest of the east; but like Harsha himself sustained a signal defeat

at the hands of the grandson of Pulakeshin II. This fact is mentioned in more than one Chālukya grant and is also mentioned in later Eastern Chālukya grants. It must indeed have been a memorable victory over Yaśovarman like that of Pulakeśin over Harsha. The grants declare that Vinayāditya obtained certain insignia of empire such as Pālidhvaja, Makara Torana, the sun and the moon and Gangā and Yamunā etc. The earliest mention of this victory and the acquistion of imperial insignia is found in a grant of Ś. 622 of Vijayāditya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 127). The battle was fought between his father Vinayāditya and a northern king, but the son Vijayāditya was himself present at this battle and was a great leader and by valour acquired the imperial insignia (उत्तरापथविजिगीषोर्गुरोरग्रतः गङ्गायमुना-पालिध्वजपट्टकामहाशब्दचिह्नमाणिक्यमतङ्गजादीन् पितृसात्कुर्वन्). This grant is dated 622 Ś. or 700 A. D. and this defeat must have happened some years before and certainly before 696 A. D. the date of his father's death i. e. in 695 A. D. as said above. The insignia mentioned are very important. They include Gangā and Yamunā the significance of which is not understood by many as we have already remarked. These two may be taken as showing that the sovereignty of Mid-India with its two principal rivers the Ganges and the Jumna was considered to be the sovereignty of the empire of India; and this mention also makes it certain that the king of the north who was defeated was Yaśovarman king of Kanauj and lord of the chief Indian kingdom the region of the Ganges and the Jumna (see also the epithet applied to his father Vinayāditya in this very grant (सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जित-पालिध्वजादि-समस्त-पारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य). There is thus no doubt left that Yaśovarman aspired to be or was paramount lord of north India and being defeated by Chālukya Vinayāditya I was deprived in 695 A. D. of the insignia of paramountcy.* This same grant mentions

* These insignia are detailed in many later grants also. What is Palidhavaja cannot be determined. Sun, Moon, and Makaratorana or Fish Torana are strangely enough the insignia of royalty even now. They were taken by the Mogul kings also and are enjoyed by the Maharaja Scindia at the present day. It is strange how things stick. To find the Sun, Moon, and fish among the insignia of paramount kingship, so early as the Chālukyas of Bādāmi of 700 A. D. is indeed wonderful.

on. But it is worth remarking here that the pre-eminence of Kanaujia Brahmins began from this reign. Gauda or Kurukshetra and Thaneser had already sent Brahmins and Kshatriyas into Bengal but later tradition in Bengal relates that five Kanaujia Brahmins and five Kāyasthas were about this time or a little later after this, invited to and settled in Bengal by the first orthodox king of Bengal Ādisura ; about whom we shall have later on to speak. This revival of the Vedas and the science of its interpretation Pūrva Mīmānsâ was indeed not confined to the north but was zealously carried on in the south also i. e. in the Deccan under the Chālukyas as we have already seen. By the efforts of both, Buddhism was finally extinguished in India with the exception of Magadha its birth-place where it survived a few centuries more.

The power of the Varmās declined towards the end of Yaśovarman's reign and still more after him. One of his successors was Vajrāyudha (the change in the name-ending from Varmā to Āyudha does not necessarily indicate change in family though it raises a presumption of it,) and he was again defeated by a Kashmir king named Jayāpīda who wished to imitate Lalitāditya in his foreign conquests but who only approached him from a distance. The date of Jayāpīda according to the Rājataranginī is 751–782 A. D. and this date is according to our view correct and not subject to alteration by the addition of 25 years as has been shown in the chapter on Kashmir. Jayāpīda was a grand-son of Lalitāditya and apparently Vajrāyudha was also a grand-son of Yaśovarman conquered by Lalitāditya. Yaśovarman's reign ended about 710 A. D. and in 751 A. D. his grand-son Vajrāyudha may properly enough have been on the throne of Kanauj. The minister of Jayāpīda was also a Brahmin named Devaśarman a grand-son of the famous foreign minister Agniśarman of Lalitāditya. This Vajrāyudha is mentioned in the Karpura Manjari of Rājaśekhara (Konow and Lenman p. 266) as a king of Pānchāla reigning in Kanauj.

The next mention of a king of Kanauj of this line is Chakrāyudha mentioned in the Bhagalpur copperplate

grant of a Pāla king of Bengal. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV p. 304.) The relevant verse is as follows: जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीन् उपार्जिता येन महोदयश्रीः। दत्ता पुनः सा बलिनार्थयित्रे चक्रायुधायानतिवामनाय ॥. This is remarked of king Dharmapāla who is said to have obtained the wealth of Mahodaya (Kanauj) by conquering Indrāyudha or Indrarāja and to have returned the same to Chakrāyudha (perhaps his son) who had humbled himself, as the Pāndavas and Śri Krishṇa gave the kingdom of Magadha after killing Jarāsandha to his son Sahadeva. In fact this was the usual practice in India upto the Mahomedan conquest. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla *himself* (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV) it is said that the king of Pānchāla was restored with the consent and to the delight of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kīra (भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रैः कुरुयदुयवनावन्तिगान्धारकीरैः। भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतैः साधु सङ्गृह्यमाणः।). This verse is very important. It conclusively proves that the empire or suzerainty of Kanauj was acknowledged even in its decline over a very large extent of territory. Bhoja means probably Gwalior (Kunti-Bhoja of the Mahābhārata), Matsya is Jaipur, Madra is eastern Panjab, Kuru is Thanesar or Śri Kantha of the Vardhanas, Yadu is Mathurā, Yavana is doubtful, but it may be taken to be the Yavana king of Āndhra of whom we shall speak later on. Gāndhāra is certainly Peshawar, Avanti is Malwa or Ujjain and Kīra is the Vindhya or Himalayan hilly region. Thus almost the whole of Northern India west of Prayāga was under the suzerainty of the Varmās of Kanauj while east of Prayāga was the newly established kingdom of the Bengal Pālas. The date of this grant is about 800 A.D. Now this great shock given by the Pālas to Kanauj could not but shake its tottering Varmā dynasty which pulled on hereafter for a little longer only. The subordinate kingdoms' ambition could not be long restrained nor that of neighbours and the Varmā dynasty of Kanauj fell in 816 A. D. the empire of Kanauj passing to a Pratihāra king of Bhinmal named Nāgabhatta who in Rajputana was either a subordinate king or a neighbouring

king of Kanauj. This new line of imperial kings of Kanauj will be described in our second volume.

The Varmā kings of Kanauj thus were supreme from the beginning of the sixth century i. e. 500 A. D. down to 300 A. D. Under Harsha there was an interruption so tc speak. But Harsha too ruled in the name of Rājyaśrī and therefore of her husband Grahavarman. If we divide the line of Maukharis into two parts we may do so by taking the earlier Maukharis from 500 to 606 and the later Varmās from 647 A. D. to 816 a period of about 175 years which as history shows is the usual period for a dynasty of kings ranging generally from 150 to 200, sometimes rising to 300 and rarely to 400. But the great event of these Varmā kings' rule was the final extinction of Buddhism or the religion of non-slaughter of animals. The Kanaujia Brahmins to this day are flesh-eaters and not flesh-abstainers like most of the other Brahmins of India.

NOTE

GAUDAVAHO, THE CONQUESTS OF YASOVARMAN AND THE PĀRASĪKAS.

This poem by Vākpātirāj is in Prākrit Mahārāshtrī and gives a detailed description of a *digvijaya* so to speak of his patron king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. But this *digvijaya* seems to be of doubtful authenticity. As the poem is called Gaudavaho, or the killng of the Gauda king, that may be taken to be the central fact and as such to be historically true. But did Yaśovarman go on a world-conquering expedition east, south, west and north as famous kings in India from the mythical Raghu down to historical Samudragupta and Lalitāditya went? There is no confirmation of this in other historical documents. On the other hand Vākpatirāj was a contemporory poet and his poem contemporary as it is cannot entirely be disbelieved. Perhaps the non-completion of the chief poem shows that the poet conceived the *digvijaya* as a probable event and not an actual fact. The fact is that Yaśovarman was defeated by a Chālukya king in the south and a Kashmir king in the north. However we think it necessary to give details of this *digvijaya* as they are given in this poem Gaudavaho. Some facts are indeed valuable as historical evidence.

Yaśovarman then according to this poem first came to the Soṇa river (which probably was the western boundary of the Gauda kingdom v. 240-246). He on his way visited the Vindyavāsinī goddess (before whom even then human sacrifice was still made) and roamed in the Vindhya hills (285). The Gauda king hearing of his approach fled. Here the Gauda king is also called king of Magadha (348-354). Yaśovarman, however, entered his territory and encamped there for the rainy season. The Gauda king who had fled returned with his auxiliaries and a battle was fought and the Gauda or Magadha king was killed in battle (414-417).

This should have ended the Gaudavaho poem. But it proceeds to detail Yaśovarman's further conquests. He proceeded further as far as the sea and conquered the king of Vanga. He then moved along the sea-coast as far as the Malaya mountain and conquered the Pārasīkas. Now these Pārasīkas in the south are a riddle to many. But they appear to be a reality. In fact in a Chālukya inscription of about this time, the Chālukya king is said to have conquered along with Chola and Pandya both Sinhala and Pārasīka. These Pārasīkas must not be confounded with Pahlavas. For the names are distinct and the Parsis *seem to have first gone to the further south in their flight* from the Arabs about this time i. e. 700 A. D. before their coming to and finally settling on the Gujarat coast.

Yaśovarman went to the southern-mos point where the east and west-oceans meet. Thence he is brought to the Narmadā to the place where it falls into the sea. It was here that the pot of nectar was seen by the gods when the ocean was churned. Thence he went to the Marudeśa or Rajputana desert and thence to Thanesar or Śrikantha. Having conquered the west he went to the north and conquered Ayodhya. In the city of Rāma and Harischandra, he built a temple *in one day*. He then went to the Mandāra mountain a part of the Himalayas (the commentator by mistake calls it the Mahendra mountain which lies to the south of Kanauj on the eastern coast) and thence to the Himalayas. This finishes his *digvijaya* and Yaśovarman returns to Kanauj to enjoy his conquest.

As no kings are mentioned by name any where not even the Gauda king and as no kingdoms are mentioned in the south, west and north, this description is of very doubtful historical value. Were it not for the mention of the Pārasīkas in the south so strangely corroborated by contemporary Chālukya inscriptions we would not have given it at all in this note. Of course Gaudavadho is a historical fact and has been so treated by S. P. Pandit and many others.

CHAPTER XV

THE HAIHAYAS OF KOŚALA

(The kingdoms noticed by Hiuen Tsang after Odra or Orissa upto the Krishṇa river are Kongadu or Ganjam, Kalinga, Kośala, Āndhra and Dhanakataka. Dhankataka with Amraoti as its capital on the Krishṇa we have identified with Vengi while Kongadu or Ganjam was frequently included in Orissa. In Kalinga no king is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. 'The people' he says "are headstrong but fair and clean of speech. They differ somewhat from mid-India in talk and manners. There were few Buddhists. The majority belonged to other religions." This description shows that Kalinga was in the higher ranks populated by Aryans and mixed Aryans and that it was subject at this time either to Orissa or to Vengi. After the time of Hiuen Tsang Kalinga, Kongatu and Āndhra formed one province and as we have already said this Trikalinga was long subject to Vengi; and hence we need not try to trace a separate history for Kalinga. But the case is different with Kośala and Āndhra above the Eastern ghats and we will try in two chapters to trace their history. Some inscriptions are available for Kośala and we may also glean valuable information from Hunter's Orissa as also from the Central Provinces Gazetteer for 1879).

The valley of the Nerbudda was from ancient times occupied by a tribe of Kshatriyas known as Haihayas. They were lunar race Kshatriyas and their greatest ancient king was Śahasrārjuna, killed by the Brahmin hero Parśurāma. Their capital was Māhishmatī or Maheśvara on the Nerbudda. They appear to have spread into the forest-clad regions of the modern Central Provinces; and founded several kingdoms. Kośala was certainly one of these kingdoms and it was as old as the Mahābhārata. We have a legend in the Mahābhārata that these Haihayas had a great fight with the solar race Kshatriyas of Oudh under Sagara. This means, it appears, that at first the solar race Kshatriyas of Oudh held sway over this tract of the country which lay to their south, and over this country the solar Kshatriyas and the lunar Kshatriyas of the Nerbudda valley had a great fight; for the tradition also exists that Rāma divided the country of Kośala between his two sons and the portion to the north of the Ganges called Uttara Kośala

he gave to his elder son and the portion to the south including the jungly tract he gave to his younger son. Thus this country came to be called Kośala and it eventually went into the possession of the Haihaya Kshatriyas. Some antiquarians have a doubt as to the Aryan race of these Haihayas and as usual they are connected with some 'horse'-named Scythic people. We need not stop to discuss such strange theories suggested by similarity of sound and we proceed to relate such historical facts as can be gleaned about these Haihayas of Kośala or modern Central Provinces in their eastern portion.

First, Kośala is described by Hiuen Tsang as lying north-west of Kalinga and as surrounded by mountains. This clearly identifies the country with the eastern portion of the modern Central Provinces. The king was, he says, a Kshatriya. This also shows that the Haihaya kings who were ruling there prided themselves on their being Kshatriyas. The people, he further states, were tall and black. The Haihayas were Yaduvaṃśi people and all lunar race Kshatriyas like Śri Krishṇa were darker in complexion than solar race Kshatriyas the first race of Aryan invaders. But the Haihayas appear to have been the darkest of the lunar Kshatriyas owing perhaps to their exposure to the fierce heat of the Nerbudda valley. Even now the representatives of these Haihayas in the U. P. are very dark. This is what Crooke says in his Tribes and Castes of the N. W. P. Vol. II p. 493. "The Hayobans Rājputs, settled in the Balli district, are of the lunar race and are of the highest rank among the tribes of the district. They claim descent from one Chandragot king of Ratanpur in C. P. who crossed the Ganges and conquered the aboriginal Cheros. Their first settlement was to the south of the Ganges at Bihia which town they still visit. They are very dark in complexion." This description of the offshoot of the Hayobansa Rajputs of C. P. takes us to Ratanpur which appears to have been their capital in C. P. for centuries and perhaps was the capital of Kośala visited by Hiuen Tsang.

The information given by Grant in his introduction to the C. P. Gazetteer for 1879 is also to the same effect. He says "the Hayobansa line of Ratanpur ruled over Chhattisgarh for many centuries even down to the Maratha conquest. Their dominion is proved by a copper-plate inscription found near Mandla (now lost) and old as far back as 144 A. D." Subsequent inscriptions found by Professor Hall near Jubbulpore also testify to several kings of this Hindu line beginning with one Kokalla Deva; but before him "we have independent grounds for believing that the Haihaya kings of Chhattisgarh were at that time Buddhists. Indeed the king of Kośala visited by Hiuen Tsang, though a Kshatriya is said by him to have been a Buddhist." Kośala is said by him also to have given birth to the great Buddhist sage Nāgārjuna. Kośala, therefore, before Harsha and after Harsha was a stronghold of Buddhism. What kings ruled there we are unable to state. But it may safely be granted that as elsewhere in India the orthodox religion reasserted itself about the end of the 8th century or even before. The line of Kokalla was perfectly orthodox but their history which can tolerably be ascertained belongs to the second portion of our period and will be treated of in the next volume.

But we may anticipate a little by saying that this second line of Haihaya kings was distinct from the king of Kośala or Mahakośala whose capital was visited by Hiuen Tsang. This is what Cunningham says in his Arch. S. Report Vol. IX Central Provinces: "In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya states in Central India viz. the kingdom of Mahakośala with Manipur for its capital and the kingdom of Chedi proper with Tripura for its capital" (p. 55) The word Chedi has wrongly been applied, it must be stated here, to Tripura which is an ancient town near Jubbulpore where the Kulachūri or Kalachūri Haihayas ruled. Chedi according to the Mahābhārata was a kingdom immediately to the south of the Jumna and it was founded by Vasu Uparichara (स चेदिविषयं रम्यं &c. Mhb. Adi P.) In this line was born Śiśupāla. His line was not that of the Haihayas. It appears that the Hai-

hayas of Tripura conquered this Chedi country which lay immediately to their north and which consequently gave its ancient name to the whole country of the Kalachūri Haihayas. They also obtained possession of the ancient fort of Kālinjara in the real Chedi country and hence they called themselves Kālinjarapuravarādhīśvara. This line of the Haihayas was distinct from the Haihayas of Mahakośala of Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) and were probably insignificant in the days of Hiuen Tsang who does not notice their kingdom at all. Probably they were subordinate to the kings of Mahākośala and when gradually orthodox kings gained supremacy in India in the 8th century they too gained power and subordinated Kośala

The Kalarchūris of Tripura no doubt use an era of their own which goes back to A. D. 248. It is called also Chedi era and began as proved by Kielhorn (Ep. Ind. IX p. 129) on fifth September 248 A. D. the year being Aśvinādi and the months being Purnimānta. This shows that the Kalachūris must have attained great power in 248 A. D. It is true that as the Haihayas of Tripura held sway for some time even in the western parts of India in Konkan and Gujarat, their era was in use in south Gujarat and in the Traikūta country. We know very little of the history of these ancient times. But the name Kalachūri does not occur before the 8th century and the era came to be called by that name later and not in the beginning. These Kalachuris it is whom we shall have to describe in our second volume.

The Haihaya kings of Kośala had probably an uneventful long existence from the 7th century down to the 17th as stated above upto the time of the Marathas. They lay secluded in a mountain-surrounded tract and remained undisturbed. They were at first Buddhists but must have changed their religion in the 8th century as elsewhere in India. They have left no records; but certain chronicles which we mention in a note, give a line of kings from the most ancient times down to the days of the Marathas, the details of which are not interesting to the general reader of Indian history, as the line did not produce any great kings.

NOTE

CHHATTISGARH OR ANCIENT KOŚALA

We have identified Chattisgarh of the Central Provinces with the Kośala kingdom of Hiuen Tsang and the Mahākośala of inscriptions. The following information given by Grant in Central Provinces Gazetteer 1879 pages 153-160 is interesting in this connection.

Chhattisgarh corresponds with the modern Raipur and Sambalpur districts of C. P. On the north-west corner of it is the Maikala range a continuation of Satpura and from it rises the Nerbudda flowing west and the Śoṇa flowing north. Amarakantaka peak is thus in this country and the Mahānadi also flows through it. There are mountain ranges surrounding it and the whole country is drained by the "Great river". The enclosed area is plain, for the most part culturable, and in places very rich. It is called Chhattisgarh because there are 36 divisions of it, each with a garh of its own. Its chief divisions are: I the valley of the Sheonath river and the tract between that river and the Sāle-tekdi hill; II the tract between the Sheonath and Hasda rivers; III the tract between the Sheonath and the Mahānadi and IV the tract south of Raipur extending towards the Mahānadi. The chief products are rice, wheat, pulses and oilseeds. The jungles on the borders are full of tigers, boars and buffalos and in the north towards Bengal side there were wild elephants. The population in the jungles consists chiefly of Gonds, Bhumias and Bigas The latter are purely jungly tribes never mixing with the plain people and fly into the jungles further if Europeans approach them. In the plains a prepondering portion of the people are chamārs who are however agriculturists and being better off than usual, they have thrown off latterly Brahminism and started a new religion of their own akin to Hinduism. They are called Satnāmis. Of the rest Brahmins, Rajputs, Kurmis and Rāuts are prominent. The country is now being opened up by railways. Formerly immense amounts of corn were produced only to lie undisposed of. In ancient days the carriers of the country were the Banjaras who kept hundreds and thousands of bullocks and carried grain to Jubbulpore in the west, Benares in the north, Nagpur in the south and Cuttack or Orissa in the east.

Hindu tradition records, (states the author) that this tract was from ancient times ruled by the Haihayas. After the Satyuga a king named Sudyumna ruled the East. One of his sons Naladhvaja got Māhishmatī or Mandla or Maheśvara, a second got Chandrapura or Chanda and a third got the kingdom of Ratanpur or Manipur (Chhattisgarh). The tenth king of the 3rd line Karṇapāla reigned from Samvat 172 to 251 (or 115-194 A. D.). He made a city at Amarakantaka and

raised temples there. Between Sam. 367-467 a successor of Karṇapāla named Madanpāla built a city called Dhanapur on a high flat hill between Pendra and Amarkantaka and a formidable fort called Ajmirgarh, ruins of which are still visible. In the 8th century two sons of a king, Suradeva and Brahmadeva divided the kingdom, the older branch remaining at Ratanpur the younger proceeding to Raipur. The latter however remained subordinate. The Ratanpur Rajas ruled Bilaspur, Sarguja and Sambhalpur, the Raipur chiefs ruled Raipur with Bastar and Karond. These seem to have been long the limits of the Haihaya Raj until the time of the Marathas.

The old capital of Manipur was situated on the top of the Lapha hills 15 miles north of Ratanpur. There is a large expanse of table-land on the top of the hills at an elevation of about 3400 ft. above the sea level. The remains of a fort, tanks, temples and buildings are still apparent and the position possesses the advantages of prominence and security From Sam. 895 to 1620, beyond the record of temples erected and towns established of which no traces remain the Brahminical narrative* is occupied with the imaginery virtues of different rulers. In Sam. 1620 (A. D. 1563) a Mahomedan emperor of Delhi made his influence felt and Raja Kalyansing went to Delhi and got himself recognised as ruler of Ratanpur after payment of tribute. His successors ruled until the Marathas came. Under the Marathas eventually the kingdom fell as also Raipur and under the British a poor representative of the Haihaya line is in the enjoyment of a few rent-free villages. This line seems to have been devoid of any great rulers nor are any great buildings remaining. And there are now very few Haihaya Rajput families in the province of Chhattisgarh (p. 161).

The following further facts from Cunningham's Coins of Central India are worth noticing: "The chief cities of the country of the Mahānadi are Rajim, Supur, and Seori Narayan, all on the Mahānadi. At these three places there are many magnificent temples and inscriptions to attest the former power and wealth of the country" (p. 73). "The king visited by Huen Tsang was a Kshatriya and his name was Sātavāhana. But there is no name like this in the Haihaya-Vamśi Rajas of Ratanpur and Raipur. Something like history begins with Suradeva of the chronicles who is said to have conquered Telingana. His date is about 749 A. D. But this should be Chedi date and hence equal to 749+249=998 A. D. The earliest inscription of A. D. 1115 mentions Sri Kokalla Chediśvara, Ratana Raja, Prithvideva, Jājalladeva. The only known coins upto now are those of Prithvi Deva which are of gold and very rare and of copper. On these copper coins on the obverse is a figure of Hanumān with four arms. On the gold coins the figure is indistinct. They are coins of Jājjala Deva (1120) and Ratna Deva also (1140 A. D.)

* The narrative has not been published anywhere and is worth securing for purposes of history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE KAINKILA YAVANAS OF ĀNDHRA

When Hiuen Tsang visited Āndhra he found the people different in speech from those of Mid-India. The people appeared to him to be of a violent nature and they were adherents of different religions. The people of Āndhra are undonbtedly of Aryan origin and yet the language of the country from before the days of Hiuen Tsang was Dravidian. Who was the king reigning in his days ? To what race and to what religion did he belong? These questions are difficult of solution; but we have come to the conclusion that at this time and during the period of which we are writing there was a line of Yavana kings ruling in Āndhra, Yavanas whose distinctive name was Kainkila Yavanas. They were not ardent professors of Buddhism though Yavanas generally were and it is probably hence that Hiuen Tsang has not described the king in Āndhra. We proceed in this chapter to describe these Yavana kings and to detail the evidence on which this description is based.

Sir William Hunter probably rightly guesses that the Yavanas of Orissa being dispossessed in the fifth century A. D. by the Kesari line of kings went into Āndhara and seized that kingdom about 575 A. D. "The next kingdom to Orissa down the Madras coast was Āndhra whose capital was Warangal. The chronicles of the Madras coast relate that the then existing dynasty in Āndhra was overthrown and was succeeded by nine kings of the Yavana race who ruled for 458 years i. e. till 904 A. D. The period of their supremacy was in the main Buddhistic and as in Orissa their downfall took place amidst a great religious revival ending in the re-establishment of Brahminism and of the very form in Orissa viz. Śaivism" (p. 220).

Sir W. Hunter has given a most interesting account, with great accuracy which for his time is certainly remarkable, of the connection of Yavanas or Ionian Greeks with India from the most ancient times (about 900 B.C.) when they were beyond the Indus down to about 900 A. D. when their last kingdom was found on the western coast of the Madras presidency. He observes (p. 220), "These southern Yavanas (of Āndhra) reached their height about 782 A. D. In that year they make their appearance in the Tuluva records on the western shores of the peninsula. Dr. Buchanan from records shown by a Brahmin states that a line of Yavana princes drove out the reigning house in Tuluva in 782 A. D. and ruled for 54 years. They claimed Āndhra descent, came from the eastern coast and were of the Jain religion into which Buddhism had by that time disintegrated."

This Yavana kingdom of Āndhra had thus a prosperous rule from about 575 A. D. to 900 A. D. and they reached their height of power about 782 A. D. The existence of a Yavana kingdom about this time is also attested by the inscription of Dharmapāla already noticed (Khalimpur grant) भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रैः कुरुयदुयवनावान्तिगान्धकीरैः। भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलि-प्रणतिपरिणतैः साधु सङ्गृह्यमाणः॥ shows that a Yavana kingdom was among the feudatories of the empire of Kanauj in the eighth century. The mention of Yavana in this inscription is apparently puzzling to many but the riddle is solved if we grant and remember that there was a powerful Yavana kingdom to the south of Nagpur and in the Āndhra country.

The evidence of the Purānas also proves the existence of a Yavana kingdom here. The Puranic account is no doubt a most garbled account of an unhistorical witness but it has much value as confirmatory evidence. The Vishṇu Purāṇa which distinctly mentions the Kailakila or Kainkila Yavanas requires to be specially noticed. It has the following passage in Aṃśa 4 chap. 24 "आन्ध्रभृत्याः सप्ताभीरप्रभृतयो दश गर्दभिनश्चभूभुजो भाविष्यान्ति। ततः षोडश भूपतयो

भवितारः। ततश्चाष्टौ यवनाश्चतुर्दश तुरुष्कारा मुण्डाश्च त्रयोदश एकादश मौना एते वै पृथिवीपतयः पृथिवीं दशवर्षशतानि नवत्याधिकानि भोक्ष्यन्ति । तेषूत्सन्नेषु कैलकिल यवना भूपतया भविष्यन्त्यमूर्धाभिषिक्ताः । तेषामपत्यं विन्ध्यशक्तिस्ततः पुरंजयस्तस्माद्रामचन्द्रस्तस्माद्धर्मवर्मा ततो वङ्गस्ततोभून्नन्दनस्ततः सुनंदी तद्भ्राता नन्दियशाः शुकः प्रवीरः एते वर्षशत षड्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति " । Now in this quotation the Yavanas are twice mentioned and at a long interval. We should, therefore, take the first 8 Yavana kings as the Greco-Bactrian kings of the Panjab who ruled before the Christian era. The Turushkaras are probably the Yue-chi. Who the Mundas were and who the Maunas it is not yet explained by any person but we shall try later on to discover it. The rule of all these covered 1090 years. When they were overthrown the Kailakila Yavanas ruled the earth. Their first king was Vindhyaśakti* and he was followed by 2 Puranjaya 3 Rāmachandra 4 Dharmavarman 5 Vanga 6 Nandana 7 Sunandin 8 Nandiyaśah and 9 Suka Pravīra. These ruled for 106 years." *These details given for the Kailakila Yavanas alone lead* to two inferences viz. (1) that the writer or rather recaster of the Vishṇu Purāṇa lived a little after these Yavanas somewhere about the 9th century A.D. and (2) that he must have been a native of Āndhra or at least of the country where these Yavanas ruled. As the Yavanas are mentioned as reigning in the Khalimpur grant of about 800 A. D. the time of these Yavana kings is tolerably settled. And their country too though not mentioned in that inscription must have been no other than Āndhra which might have formed part of the Kanauj empire along with Bhoja. Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Avanti, Kīra and others. We, therefore, hold on the authority of the evidence mentioned by Hunter supported by the Vishnu Purāṇa that from before the days of Hiuen Tsang the Kailakila or Kāinkila Yavanas ruled in Āndhra upto 800 A. D. and even later down to about 900 A. D. Their mention in the Bhāgavata is also confirmatory in

* This Vindhyaśakti is different from the Vindhyaśakti of the Vākāṭaka dynasty mentioned in the Ajanta cave inscription, the successors of the latter being different also viz. Pravarasena, Rudrasena, Prithvisena and others his date being about 300 A.D.

this connection and is interesting. किलिकिलायां नृपतयो भूतनन्दोऽथ वङ्गिरिः। शिशुनन्दिश्च तद्भ्राता यशोनन्दिः प्रवीरकः॥ इत्येते वै वर्षशतं भविष्यन्त्यधिकानि षट्॥ (द्वा. अ. १). Here the period 106 years is the same; the name Kailakila is the same though given as that of a place and five kings are named whose names are nearly the same as in the Vishnu. The Bhāgavata seems to follow the Vishnu Purāna at a distance and must date after the 9th century. The other Purānas too mention Yavanas, but none mentions the Kailakila Yavanas, Vindhyaśakti and others and these Purānas notably Vāyu and Matsya in their present form are generally rightly taken as the oldest Purānas and may be supposed to refer to the Yavana kings of the Panjab alone. Munda and Mauna barbarians are mentioned by these also and they also preceded the Guptas most certainly.

The Kainkila Yavanas are said by the Vishnu Purāna to be अमूर्धाभिषिक्त *i. e.* not crowned religiously. But possibly this word is मूर्धावसिक्त which shows their mixed origin. The commentator explains the word as meaning non-Kshatriyas but that was clear from the very name Yavana. The word is a puzzle but it may be taken to mean that they were Buddhists or Jains and did not care for religious coronations.

But these Yavanas seem to have preserved their language though not their religion. It is indeed an interesting question whether the Yavana kings of the Panjab spoke Greek. The legends on their coins indeed are in Greek and this clearly shows that they must have spoken their own language. But they were in constant communication with Bactria, Syria and even Greece and their speaking their own language is not strange. But the Yavanas of Āndhra surrounded as they were by Sanskrit-born and Dravidian languages, their own subjects speaking also

the same languages could not have preserved their Greek. Colebrooke quoting a writer of this period (8th century) classifies the non-Hindu languages of the time as four in number viz. Yavana, Pārasīka, Romaka and Barbara (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p. 222). Hunter, however, believes that these Āndhra Greeks had lost all traces of their original language.*

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* The Greek language was undoubtedly once spoken in India as we have shown elsewhere that the Greek word 'Syrinx' or Suranga is used in the Mahābhārata itself and that Vidura speaks in Greek probably when he cautions Yudhishthira in a Mlechha language against residing in the inflammable house at Vāranāvata built for them. Latin too may have been understood in India in the first century A.D. when Rome had commercial connection with India especially the south and when the Roman coin the Dinar became current in India. Pārasīka as the language of the Persians who often conquered Sind upto the Indus, may also be well-known. But what is Barbara? The word is indeed a puzzle. The Greeks use the word 'Barbarians' for all Mlechhas and so also the Indo-Aryans speak of a Mlechha people by name Barbara. But Barbara occurs in history as the name of an African people and these could not have come into contact with the Indo Aryans. Probably the African Ethiopeans traded in centuries preceding Christ with India and the name continued to be applied to the Arabs who certainly traded with India for many centuries and who in the 8th century A. D. conquered Sind. The Prakrit writer of the 8th century therefore refers to the Arabic language when he mentions the Barbara as the fourth Mlechha language understood or current in India.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WESTERN KINGDOMS

(1) GUJAR CHĀPAS OF BHINMAL.

We will now turn to the history of the remaining kingdoms to the west of Kanauj noticed by Hiuen Tsang. And the first among them was the Gujar kingdom of Bhinmal in Rajputana. We have discussed the question of the race of Gurjaras in a note. We have shown there that they cannot but be treated as distinctly Aryan. Their long heads, their fine noses (finer even than those of Parisians, vide Sir H. Risley), their tall stature are too strong ethnological characteristics declaring unequivocally their Aryan origin, to be got rid of by the imaginary theory of Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar who would assign them *to a foreign* or Scythic stock supposed to be Khazar. And Sir V. Smith himself admits that there is no historical evidence to support the surmise that the Gurjaras at any time came to India. "The Gurjaras are *believed* to have entered India, either along with or soon after the white Huns; but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what *race* they belonged." (V. Smith's Early History 3rd Edn. p. 412). A similar view is expressed by him in his paper in J. R. A. S. 1908 and also 1909. The only reason for such a surmise is the fact that the name 'Gujar' is not met with before the 6th century A. D. and that in Bāṇa's Harsha Charita the Gujars are said to have been defeated by Pratāpavardhana along with the Huns. There can be nothing more unsatisfactory than this. The name Gurjara is undoubtedly not yet found in any work before the 6th century. But does that prove that it did not exist or that the name had not been in use before? Absence of mention is no proof whatever of non-existence. And have we found all the inscriptions or records before the 6th century and have we got all books that were written before that period? It would be ridiculous to suggest, much more to believe this.

Secondly Bāna's Harsha Charita says that Pratāpavar-'hana defeated the Huns, the Gujars, the Mālavas, the Sindhus and many others. Does that mean that all these people were Huns or came along with or after them? There is an unaccountable tendency in antiquarians of India to assign foreign and Scythic origin to each and every forward people found in Indian history. Thus the Jats and even the Rajputs are assigned a foreign and a Scythic origin. If the Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs with their clearly Aryan features are foreigners and Scythians where are the Indo-Aryans, those people who spoke the Aryan Sanskrit or Vedic language, who according to the Vedas, and the Epics supported by the Avesta came to and settled in the Panjab and Rajputana? Have they desappeared? The lower strata in these parts are Dravidian by their ethnic characteristics and if the Jats, Gujars, Rajputs and the Brahmins are foreigners-Greek, Śaka or Hūṇa, where indeed are the Indo-Aryans so famous in the Vedas, the Mahābhārata and the Manu Smriti? We may conclude therefore that the ethnic characteristics of the Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs viz. their long heads, their fine noses and their tall statures are undeniably Aryan and that there is nothing in history which suggests or proves that they came from outside India in historic times.

The Gujars like the Jats are the ancient Vedic Aryan Vaiśyas ; and that explains why their names are not met with in ancient records before the fifth or sixth century. For such ancient scanty historical records as we possess concern themselves chiefly with kings and kingly families and rarely mention the common people. In the third century A. D. the Vaiśayas for the first time came into prominence because (most Kshatriya kingly families being killed or driven further south) many Vaiśya families took to the profession of arms against the foreign invaders of Scythic origin. The Guptas thus were Vaiśyas who first opposed the Yue-chi and latterly opposed the Huns. It seems that when the Huns first invaded India and founded a kingdom at Sialkot, the Gujars moved

down into Rajputana, the sandy deserts of which have always afforded shelter to Aryans of the Panjab and the middle country when oppressed and dispossessed by foreigners. That seems to be the reason why the Gurjaras came into prominence about the time of the Huns. They moved from the Panjab into Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Bhinmal about the beginning of the sixth century. They even sent off-shoots further southwards and we find the Gurjara kingdom of Broach founded by Dadda at about the same time. These two kingdoms were found in a flourishing condition by Hiuen Tsang. Pratāpavardhana conquered the Gurjaras not because they were Huns or foreigners; he conquered them as every conquering hero in India did who conquered both foreigners and Indians in his digvijaya. The Gurjaras of Bhinmal were to his south-west and he must have established his overlordship over them also. Yet the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal was strong and even Harsha did not entirely dispossess the Gurjaras. They were probably only in nominal subjection to him as we have already stated. And they not only remained strong but in the next century grew stronger and subdued Kanauj itself.

Who was the king in the days of Harsha and what was his family and caste? We have already said that he probably was son to one Vyāghramukha mentioned by Brahmagupta the famous astronomer who composed his well-known Siddhānta at Bhinmal in 628 A. D. Now this Brahmagupta states that the king belonged to the *Chāpa* dynasty.* The Chāpas or Chapotkatas are well-known Kshatriyas mentioned in inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries (see Chālukya Navasari grant already described). They hereafter established the kingdom of Gujarat at Anhillapattana as we shall have to relate in our next volume. This king then was a Kshatriya according to Brahmagupta and he was equally a Kshatriya according

* Dikshit's Marathi history of Indian Astronomy p. 217. The verse quoted by him from Brahma Siddhānta is as follows:—

श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाणाम् ।
[illegible] ॥

to Hiuen Tsang. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a young man noted for wisdom and a firm believer in Buddhism." Now this fact is a puzzle to European scholars who look upon Gurjaras as foreigners but they twist it into an argument for their own theory. They argue that not only were the Gujars foreigners and of Scythian origin admitted into the Hindu fold but that within a hundred years of their coming into India their kings were admitted to be true Kshatriyas !". This explanation however is untenable. It is possible for any person or people to be admitted into Hinduism which with its peculiar institution of caste can easily admit anybody in its fold without sacrificing the purity of existing castes but it is not possible to suppose that when everybody was opposing the detested Huns and other foreigners, when Aryan orthodox kings, according to inscriptions of that very period, were strongly enforcing caste and preventing sankara or intermixture of races, that these foreign kings could have been admitted to be Kshatriyas. This fact therefore supports our view that the Gurjaras were Hindus of ancient date and Vaisyas and their kings the Chāpat were true Kshatriyas.

We know very little of the history of these Chāpas from 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited Bhinmal down to about 750 A. D The king at his time was a Buddhist but it is probable that after his death, as in the rest of India, there must have been a revival of Hinduism among the Gurjaras. They appear to have been a very powerful people and resisted the invasion of their country by the Arabs who after their conquest of Sind in 712 A. D. tried to extend their dominion and their religion to the neighbouring states of India. Bhinmal the Gurjara kingdom was undoubtedly one of such kingdoms contiguous to Sind and it appears certain that the Gurjaras eventually defeated the Arabs. Along with this event there appears to have been a change of dynasty in the ruling family and the Pratihāras appear to come in about 750 A.D. displacing the old Chāpas whose rule seems to have extended to

the usual period of dynasties i. e. about two centuries. The history of the Gurjara Pratihāras belongs to the second portion of our period and will be related in our next volume.

(2) THE VARDHANAS OF MOLAPO OR WESTERN MALWA.

We have already given the history of the other Gurjara kingdom to the south at Broach; and we will now proceed to describe the history of Hiuen Tsang's Molapo or Western Malwa. This kingdom belonged as we have seen to Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana of the Mandsaur inscription In our surmise this name-ending Vardhana shows that he was a Vaiśya like the Guptas. His great exploit was that he defeated Mihirakula the Hun. Now we have already quoted the sentence in Chandra's grammar अजयज्जर्टो हूणान् "the Jarta conquered the Huns". If we apply this sentence to Yaśodharman and there is none else to whom it can well be applied, we may surmise that he was a Jarta or Jat from the Panjab. In fact like the Gurjaras of Bhinmal we may suppose the Jats from the Panjab to have migrated to Malwa (which like Rajputana is a favourite land with migrators) to take refuge from the incursions of the Huns and these Jats in Malwa getting strong under Yaśodharman inflicted in 528 A. D. a signal defeat on the Huns who had overrun their motherland the Panjab.

A grandson or great grandson of this king was on the throne when Hiuen Tsang visited Western Malwa. He was a devout Buddhist and a Buddha temple near the city was being built for several generations. We may take it from the Rājataranginī that Yasodharman's son named Śilāditya (name mentioned by Hiuen Tsang also) being a Buddhist was assailed by his neighbours and dispossessed. Pravarsena of Kashmir about 540 A. D. re-established this son on the throne of his father, and took away from him the throne of Kashmir which his father Yasodharman had brought away. This dynasty, therefore, had certainly lasted from about 500-641 A. D. the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit. What became of it after Harsha we are not in a position to state. The history of Malwa as a whole is obscure until we come to the Paramāra dynasty; but we

may state that Western Malwa was on the border between Gujarat and Central India and was often changing hands. That it was entirely under Valabhis for some time hereafter is certain from grants of Valabhi kings which gave lands even near Mandsaur to donees. Apparently therefore, when Harsha's empire fell Molapo passed into the power of the stronger Valabhi kingdom.

(3) UJJAIN OR CENTRAL MALWA.

Ujjain was the capital of central Malwa and when Huen Tsang visited it in 641 A. D. it was under a Brahmin king. Who he was and what became of his family after Harsha we cannot say. In fact as stated above until we come to the Paramāra rule there is no history of Malwa to be detailed. We may however make the following observations. Malwa has always been under foreign rule. The climate of Malwa is not fecund and is distinctly enervating. Foreign races and tribes have consequently always come into Malwa and ruled there. Malwa was thus directly under the Mauryas and their heir-apparents ruled here as viceroys. Asoka was one of such viceroys. After the Mauryas the Sungas similarly held Malwa and Agnimitra was a similar viceroy who resided at Vidiśā. After the Śungas the family of Vikrama ruled in Malwa and they too were by tradition foreigners belonging to the Pāndava clan. After Vikrama's line, Malwa fell to the Western Śakas who ruled in Ujjain from 78 A. D. to 400 A. D. When Malwa was conquered by the Guptas about 400 A. D., Gupta viceroys resided at Ujjain for a hundred years. When the Gupta empire was dismembered about 500 A. D. central Malwa or Ujjain must have remained with a Gupta branch. Of this branch was Devagupta, the foe of. Grahavarman and Rājyavardhana and when in 606 A. D. he was killed Malwa was entirely held under subjection by Harsha. The Brahmin king seen by Hiuen Tsang according to our view was a viceroy appointed by Harsha. After Harsha Ujjain remained subject to Kanauj and we know Yaśovarman in about 700 A. D. was master of it. We have also seen that Mālwa or Mālava was a subject province or country of Kanauj when Chakrāyudha was placed on the throne of

Kanauj by Dharmapāla about 800 A.D. with the consent of many dependent kings detailed. Between Yaśovarman and Chakrāyudha i. e. from 700 to 800 A. D., Malwa appears to have been for a time under the Rashtrakūtas of Malkhed also. We indeed find a prince of Mālava mentioned but he was usually subject either to the emperor of the north at Kanauj or the emperor of the south at Malkhed. In a grant of Govind III dated Śaka 728 or 730 (806 A. D.) his father Dhruva is said to have conquered a Mālava king who indeed himself offered submission (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI). Then again in a grant of the Rāshtrakūta Gujarat branch king Karka we are told that he held his arm as a bar against the encroachments of the (northern) Gurjara king to protect Mālava for his master (Ind. Ant. XIII p. 160). This does not make it clear if Malwa was under a subject king or was entirely a subject province of the southern Rāshtrakūta king. It is, however, curious to notice how history repeats itself. The Marathas in 800 A.D. were the masters of Mālava and warded off the northern emperor of Kanauj much in the same way as they in 1800 A. D. a thousand years later held Malwa against the Emperors of Delhi. Some time after this the Maratha Rāshtrakūta empire declined and Malwa was conquered and raised into an independent kingdom by the Paramāras who too hailed not from Malwa but from outside as we shall relate in our second volume.

(4) JEJĀKABHUKTI AND MAHESVARAPURA

Hiuen Tsang does not mention Eastern Malwa the capital of which was Bhelsa or Vidiśā and which country was in ancient times called Daśārna (see Kālidāsa's Meghadūta and Mahābhārata also) a name which survives in detailed maps of Central India and still in the popular language as Dhasāna. Probably this tract was then included in Avanti or Ujjain (central Malwa). Hiuen Tsang mentions two more kingdoms in what is now Central India viz. Jejākabhukti and Maheśvarapura, in both of which ruled Brahmin kings in his days. Jejākabhukti as the name itself indicates is the province of Jejāka, "bhukti" being as we have already shown the usual title of a divi-

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sion or collectorate under a kingdom e. g. Tirabhukti which is now Tirhut. The province of Jejāka was therefore originally part of the Gupta Empire and we surmise that Budhagupta ruled here so late as about 500 A. D. After the fall of his line some Brahmin governor of it must have become independent partially only for he must have been subject to Harsha. He may have been a descendant of Dhyāna Vishnu whose inscription has been found at Eran (see Gupta Ins. III). This line must have become independent after Harsha but must have been subjugated again under the rule of Yaśovarman and his successors. However we know nothing about this kingdom or province till the appearance of the Chandels in the 9th century and their history does not belong to the first portion of the Hindu period. The word Bhukti, however, has stuck to this district finally although it became independent and powerful under the Chandels. For its modern name is Jajoti and the Brahmins of this country or modern Bundelkhand are known by the title of Jajotia Brahmins.

Of Maheśvarapura we know practically nothing. It is identified with Gwalior or with Narwar. Bhojas must have ruled there (See Dharmapāla's inscription noticed above). But it was a province so near the centre of the empire at Kanauj under Harsha and under his successors that it could only have had viceroys and not independent or semi-independent kings until Kanauj declined.

CHAPTER XVIII

HIMALAYAN STATES

It is necessary to add a chapter on the history of the many states small and great which existed in the valleys of the Himalaya mountain and adjoining parallel ranges on the side of India. We have already given a detailed history of Kashmir, which was always a part of and an important kingdom in India. Being in the north of the Panjab it was entered by the Indo-Aryans in prehistoric times. Although not settled and cultivated by an Aryan population like the Panjab, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who formed the upper layer were numerous enough to stamp the country as a part of India. The Brahmins of Kashmir again took a leading part in the development of the Aryan civilization in India itself. They also established a reputation for learning which has existed down to this day. For Kashmir Brahmins have always prospered in Kashmir as well as abroad in India both as learned Pandits and as great administrators. Hence Kashmir has always been treated as an important part of India. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata list of Indian kingdoms as also in Varāhamihira's. Its history naturally forms a part of Indian history.

But the case with other Himalayan states, especially Nepal is different. These states were in the first place inhabited by an aboriginal population which is not Indian *i. e.* Dravidian, but which is Mongolian by race and akin to the Tibetans and other people to the north of India. (The Dāmaras of Kashmir appear to be neither Aryan nor Mongolian and we are not quite sure if they are Dravidians. Their race requires to be carefully sifted). The Khasas, the Newars and the Bhotias are distinctly Mongolian by race. Secondly, these states have been entered into by Indo-Aryans only in historical times. Of course only Brahmins and Kshatriyas went there for

religious and political purposes and impressed upon the local people their religion and their polity. And thirdly, Nepal has been an amphibious state, sometimes dependent on Tibet or China and sometimes dependent on Indian emperors. Even now Nepal is in this double position. While it entertains a Resident from British India, it still sends some presents to China in token of its vassalage to that empire. Bhotan is entirely Mongolian, it was never subject to India, nor was it ever entered into by the Indo-Aryans. It is, therefore, only as an adjoining state that that state is mentioned in political relations with British India. Nepal is sometimes mentioned in ancient Sanskrit works, but it is not included in the list of Indian kingdoms and is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata or Varāhamihira list of Indian peoples. We will, however, trace the history of Nepal during our period because it was under Indian rulers at this time and of other minor states which were more completely Indian and which lie between Nepal and Kashmir in a note. For this history inscriptions and coins are available as also legendery accounts preserved in Nepal and elsewhere.

NEPAL.

The present state of Nepal is about 500 miles long and about 100 miles broad and lies to the north of India. It extends from Kumaon on the west to Sikkim on the east. It is bounded on the south by the Sandstone Range of tills which are a continuation so to speak of the Siwalik range in the Panjab at the southern base of the Himalaya mountains. On the north of Nepal is the chief snowy range of the Himalayas and most of its highest peaks e. g. Mt. Everest, Dhavalagiri and Kanchanagangā are on the northern borders of Nepal beyond which extends Tibet. Three principal rivers rise thence and pass through this state viz. the Rapti in the western part, the Gandaka in the central and the Koshi or Kauśiki in the eastern, the latter two being also called Sapta Gandaka and Sapta Kauśiki in Nepal as seven streams unite to form them within the bounds of this state like the Sapta Ganga in

Garhwal. The country is of course mostly mountainous, but there are several open valleys which are fertile and cultivated though they are generally limited in extent.

The most noted and extensive of these valleys is the valley of Nepal properly so called. It is surrounded by mountains like the valley of Kashmir and is about 20 miles in length and 10 miles in breadth. A small river (lesser than the Vitastā of Kashmir) runs through this valley and unites with another river in the centre of it. These two riverss are named Bāgmati and Vishṇumati and uniting they get out of the valley through a gorge in the southern hills into the plains of India. The valley is about 4700 ft. above the sea level and consequently enjoys a very fine climate which is not very cold. The soil is fertile and the chief crop is of course rice as in Kashmir. Vegetables and all sorts of fruit are grown in this and the adjorning valleys. It is, therefore, *very* thickly populated and there are several towns in it the chief being Kāthmāndu or Kāntipur which is situated on the confluence of the Bāgmati and Vishnumati and Lalitapātaṇa and Bhātgaon (Bhaktagrama).

The original inhabitants of Nepal are called Newars and belong as already stated to the Mongolian race. They are of short stature, but strong and muscular. They are flat faced and yellow. They do the agriculture as also the trade of the country and are thus true Vaiśyas according to the Bhagavadgīta. They are characterised like many Mongolian peoples by lax marital relations. A Newar girl when quite a child is married to a Bel fruit which then is thrown into a river. The girl is therefore never in want of a man when she is grown up, but can give him up if she is dissatisfied with him by simply placing two betel-nuts under his bed and walking out of his house. The story in the Mahābhārata is, therefore, not quite strange wherein it is stated that Pāndu when in the Himalayas said to his wife "Formerly women were unrestrained." In fact lax marital relations characterise most Mongolian Himalayan peoples and the ideas of Gandharvas

and Apsarasas have developed out of them in the Hindu Purāṇas.

The Indo-Aryans go to the other extreme in this matter; at least they have done so in Nepal. Among the higher castes in Nepal the Aryans or mixed Aryans punish adultery most severely. The guilty wife is imprisoned for life, while the injured husband has the right to cut down the guilty man in public; the latter, however, is allowed to run away if he can. No widows are allowed to remarry; while those who elect to burn themselves on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands are compelled to do so, if by chance they lose heart and wish to turn back from the burning pile. Such extremely high notions of a wife's duty in one caste and such lax views of it in another placed side by side in the same country afford an interesting example of the power of ideas on human customs.

The Indo-Aryans have immigrated into Nepal within historical times. The latest invasion was that of the Gurkhas who claim descent from the Śisodias of Chitore whence after its fall before Allauddin some Rajputs migrated into a valley to the west of Nepal. There they appear to have mixed with the Himalayan people of the Mongolian race and formed the present Gurkha (or Gorkha) people. Their Aryan characteristics, however, are still apparent. Dr. Wright who has written a detailed history of Nepal from native chronicles says at page 25 in describing the Gurkhas "The Gorkhas or Goṛkhālis formerly occupied the district round the town of *Gorkha* which is about 40 miles west of Kāthamāndu. They are said to be of Rajput descent and to have been driven out of Rajputana on the occasion of a Mahomedan invasion. They first settled near Pālpa having passed through the Kumaon hills and gradually extended their dominion to Gorkha. The Gorkhas are in general fine looking men. Some of the higher castes such as are found in regiments are tall and slim in figure and muscular and enduring and have high features like the natives of Hindustan.

However owing to intermarriage they have become much mixed. They are essentially a military race. They are temperate and hardy and make good soldiers. They are by no means industrious and take but a small share in the agricultural or mechanical labours of the country. The Newars are in general a shorter set of men than the Gorkhas and their features are more of the Mongolian type." (page 26) * The Gorkhas are also fairer in complexion than the Newars who have more yellowish features". Complexion, hereditary military tendencies and strict adherence to Hindu religion, therefore, unmistakably substantiate the tradition among the Gurkhas that they are descended from Śisodia Rajputs.

Speaking of the religion of the people, the Newars and other older people of Nepal are mostly Buddhists, though a large minority of the Newars are also Hindus. The higher castes especially the Brahmins and Khatris including the Gurkhas are orthodox Hindus and devout worshippers of Śiva. Indeed the great temple of Paśupati is from ancient times the chief temple of the land and is also famous throughout India. Śiva's consort Durgā and son Gaṇapati are also favourite deities and have many temples erected to them by devout kingly worshippers. And the wonder is that even the Buddhists are worshippers of Devi. Indeed the Mahāyāna or Tibet Buddhism which is prevalent here is so full of idolatry and superstition and has borrowed so much from Hindu ideas that the Buddhits of Nepal do not scruple to sacrifice cocks, goats, and buffaloes to the terrible Durgā; for this Buddhism has also invented its own goddesses the Tārās who are five in number and who are the wives of five Buddhas (!!!) and have five sons. The Buddhists in Nepal like the Hindus are also flesh-eaters. Of course cows are sacred to both and to kill or maim a cow is as heinous a crime as to kill or maim a human being.

* A contrary statement appears in the Imperial Gazetteer under Nepal; which is probably inaccurate and is perhaps a wrong quotation of the words of Dr. Wright.

Thus we see that in the physical aspects of the country and the characteristics of the people Nepal much resembles Kashmir, except in the fact already noticed viz. that while Kashmir has always been famous for the learning of its Pandits who have in historical and modern times too, migrated into other provinces and made their mark, Nepali Brahmins are not known for learning. Indeed Brahmins from outside have usually been indented for in Nepal and we know that the worshippers of Paśupati are Brahmins from the south (both Deccan and Madras). There are also Brahmins from Kanauj and Tirhut or Mithila which are contiguous to Nepal. These Brahmins very probably in modern days have written out the chronicles of Nepal from ancient Vamśāvalis which as in Kashmir give a history of the valley from the most ancient times commencing with even Satyayuga down to the conquest of the country by the Gurkhas under Prithvi-*Narayana in 1768 A. D. This legendery history* has been given in summary by Dr. Wright in his book entitled History of Nepal. This account on the face of it is legendary and jumbles facts and fancies in an undistinguishable mass. The chronology too is hopelessly at fault owing to what is imaginery and later theory. Some inscriptions, however, enable us in conjunction with this history to give some interesting detailed facts of Nepal history from about 600 A. D. to 800 A. D. the period we are concerned with in this volume. Before proceeding to detail it we must give a short summary of the preceding history.

Whether Śiva worship is older in Nepal or Buddha worship cannot be determined. But Paśupati and Buddha equally claim the reverence of the people from ancient times. Aśoka certainly was once sovereign of this land and visited it. He is said to have given his daughter in marriage to a local king. Nāgas, Yakshas, Rākshasas and Durgas are common to both rleigions. And Nepal is considered a Mahāpītha" because it contains the four most sacred shrines of the world viz. Svayambhu Chaitya, Gujeśvari Pītha, Śivalinga Paśupati and Karlie Śmaśan"

(Wright H. of N. p. 91). There is a tradition current in Nepal that Vikramājit also came to and ruled in Nepal and laid down laws. The Bhairavas of Śiva may perhaps be attributed to his influence and were introduced along with other attendants of Śiva. There is a jumble of dates here which may be neglected, for a Vikramājit is also mentioned further on. But Vikrama certainly introduced the Samvat era in Nepal and, it is said, paid off all debts. There is indeed a curious tradition all over India that the founder of an era must pay off all debts existing in the country, and thus make all men happy. There is not the least doubt that the Vikrama era has been in use in Nepal since a very long time. And here we come in contact with inscriptions which have been read and translated by two such learned antiquarians as Bhagvanlal Indraji and Buhler. These are all given together in Indian Antiquary Vol. IX, and we quote them from that journal.

The first four inscriptions are in clear Gupta characters and are dated Samvat 386, 413, 435 and 535. What Samvat this is we shall see further on. The next important inscription given is that of Śivadeva of the Lichhavi family without date and mentions Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman. The sixth inscription is dated Samvat 34 and belongs to Amśuvarman himself describing him as a servant of Mahādeva and of Bappa and styling him as Mahāsāmata. These two are in changed Gupta characters. A third dated S. 39 belongs to the same king. Besides other inscriptions there is next one in S. 49 by Jishnugupta who was Yuvaraja to Vishnugupta in which Mahārājādhirāja Amśuvarman is mentioned. Next comes a grant of Śivadeva for the maintenance of a Śiva temple Śiveśvara founded by him dated S. 119 and two others of this same Śivadeva in S. 143 and 145 in which a Yuvarāja Vijayadeva is mentioned. Lastly we have a most important inscription by Jayadeva in S. 153 which gives a legendery predigree to the Lichhavi kings connecting them with the solar line, Lichhavi being said to be a descendant of Daśaratha after 8 intervening kings. In this line were

born Śankaradeva, Dharmadeva, Mānadéva, Mahīdeva and Vasantadeva, then after 13 kings came Udayadeva whose son was the famous Śivadeva who married Vatsadevi daughter of the Maukhari king Bhogavarman and grand-daughter of the king of Magadha Ādityasena. Their son was Jayadeva who married Rājyadevi daughter of Harshadeva king of Assam who had conquered Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and other countries. He records this inscription commemorating the placing of a silver lotus above Pasupati and in this inscription are certain verses composed by the king himself.

These inscriptions and the eras noted in them are discussed by the well-known antiquarian Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII p. 411 along with the traditional dynastic lists preserved in Nepal also given by him and by Dr. Wright who in his history noticed above summarises one such Vaṃśāvali given him by a Buddhist monk. These Vamśāvalis are all legendery but contain very many real facts buried under imaginary stories. Now Pandit Bhagavanlal rightly observes that Amśuvarman in these inscriptions is the same Aṃśuvarman who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Nepal about his time. He appears to have been a Thakuri or Rajput and originally a Sāmanta or feudatory of the Lichhavi king of Nepal named Śivadeva; but gradually to have assumed real sovereignty himself. Now his first inscription is dated Samvat 34. This Samvat is clearly, therefore, the Harsha era. The Vamśavali history as given by Dr. Wright at Chap. III p. 133 says that the first king of the new dynasty was Aṃśuvarman. Just before this at p. 131 it is stated that Vikramājit a powerful monarch of Hindustan founded a new era and came to Nepal to introduce his era here. Now this is a second mention of the coming of Vikramājit and Pandit Bhagvanlal is correct in holding that this refers to the conquest of Nepal by Harsha and the introduction of his era, the legend confounding him with the Vikrama of 57 B. C. The change in the era in the inscriptions also indicates the same thing. This inscription

with the garbled story of the Vaṃśāvalis and Hiuen Tsang's account combine to prove that Harsha conquered Nepal and introduced his era there most probably in the days of Śivadeva Licchavi. This conquest may be looked upon as attested to even by Bāna when he says in the Harsha Charita गृहीतः दुर्गायाः हिमसुवः करः

Our history is concerned with the conquest of Harsha and with later events. But as we have said before, it would be interesting to note here the historical facts before this event which can be gathered from inscriptions. Now the Vaṃśāvalis mention certain kings before Harsha who are also mentioned in inscriptions and these are 1 Vrishadeva 2 Śankaradeva 3 Dharmadeva 4 Mānadeva, 5 Mahideva and Vasantadeva. They are not only mentioned in Jayadeva's inscription (no. 15) of Harsha S. 153 i.e. A. D. 759 but they have left their own inscriptions as stated before dated S. 386, 435 and 535. The question here is what Samvat is this. They certainly precede Jayadeva of 759 A. D. by many generations i. e. several centuries. Now it is impossible to take the Gupta era here, for the years would be, adding 320, 706, 755, and 855 A. D. Saka era of 78 A. D. and Vikrama era of 57 B. C. are both admissable. But Pandit Bhagavanlal has rightly held that the Vikrama era alone is applicable considering the number of generations that intervened between Jayadeva of 759 A. D. and Mānadeva of the first inscription. We find from inscription no. 15 that Jayadeva was preceded by the famous 1 Śivadeva son-in-law of the powerful Maukhari, 2 Narendradeva, then 13 unnamed kings then 17th Udayadeva, 18th Vasantadeva, 19th Mahideva and 20th Mānadeva son of Dharmadeva and Rājyadevi as mentioned in inscription No. 1 of S. 386. These 19 kings if assigned about 437 years at 23 year's average for each generation as usual will take Mānadeva to A.D. 322 (759-437). If S. 386 be treated as Vikrama Samvat we get A.D. 326 which is near Manadeva's date above obtained. But if we take Samvat 386 as given in the Śaka era it gives us A. D. 464.

Under this view there will be between Mānadeva and Jayadeva 759–464 = 295 years which for 19 or even 18 generations of kings in the interval gives 15 or 16 years only for each generation. One is, therefore, convinced that Pandit Bhagvanlal is correct in taking the Vikrama Samvat for the early inscriptions in Nepal; though this contradicts the view of many antiquarians, as the Pandit himself has observed, that the Vikrama Samvat was *concocted* about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. This is the great importance and value of these inscriptions as they umistaknably give us a date in Vikrama Samvat so old as 386 or A. D. 329 i. e. preceding the fifth century.

We will now turn to our period. The first thing to be noticed is that Harsha seems very definitely to have conquered Nepal and introduced his era there. This was in the days of a Licchavi king named Śivadeva and must have happened very soon after Harsha's accesion, sometime about 610 A. D. The king being thus weakened his Sāmanta Aṃśuvarman, a powerful prince, easily became ascendent, but not so ascendent as to throw away Harsha's era, or to throw away his own title as Sāmanta. Hence his two inscriptions use the Harsha era and still retain the title Sāmanta though he virtually remained the master as chief minister or commander. This sort of double lordship lasted probably for some generations. Pandit Bhagvanlal mentions a parallel in the latest history of Nepal itself viz. of the family of the prime minister Jang Bahadur. But there are more such parallels in Indian history and we may quote the Peshwas themselves on our side who for four generations were both ministers and masters while the Satara chiefs for generations were ostensibly kings and yet powerless. Hiuen Tsang states that "the kings in Nepal were Kshatriyas and believed in Buddha. Aṃśuvarman a recent king had written a treatise on Etymology". This description shows that Aṃśuvarman was then dead but not necessarily when Hiuen Tsang visited Śrāvasti. It is probable he never went to Nepal personally but collected information which was noted later and at that time Aṃśu-

varman was dead. Inscription no. 7 is by Amśuvarma himself and is dated Samvat 39 which being in Harsha's era gives A. D. 645. He must have been alive then and it can not be explained how Sir Vincent Smith gives 641 A. D. as the date of his death (E. H. 3rd Ed. p. 366). But Amśuvarman must have died before Harsha very probably and he was not the man who gave assistance to the Chinese envoy who was maltreated by the ruler of Tirhut as stated in the history of Kanauj. For it appears that Amśuvarman at least in his later days was a staunch Hindu and a worshipper of Śiva as may be surmised from the following epithet applied to him in this very inscription viz. निशि निशि चानेकशास्त्रार्थविमर्शावसादितासद्दर्शनतया धर्माधिकारस्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनतिशयं मन्यमानः. This wording not only corroborates Hiuen Tsang's report about Amśuvarman's learning but shows that he had seen the fallacy of the wrong philosophy (of course Buddhism). The course of history in Nepal, therefore, at this time was the same as elsewhere. The kings upto Amśuvarman were sometimes Buddhists, sometimes Vaishnavites. The first Vishnudeva whose name we have in inscription No. 1 is described in Ins. No. 15 of Jayadeva as सुगतशासनपक्षपाती i. e. favourer of the teaching of Buddha. The Buddhist religion probably led to the enervation of the kingly line and Amśuvarman appears to have become supreme, being a professor of the sturdier religion of Śiva. It is pertinent to note that this Amśuvarman and his successors call themselves in the beginning of their inscriptions पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीत i. e. favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati while the first four inscriptions do not contain this epithet. The Lord Paśupati was certainly there before Amśuvarman. For Hiuen Tsang describing the people of Nepal says, "The people are rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance; but skilled mechanics (a true description of the Mongolian peoples). They believed both the false and true religions, Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples touching each other". We may, therefore, be sure that Paśupati was already there but the kings were usually Buddhists and sometimes Vaishnavites. Whatever be the reason, Amśuvarman established

himself as paramount Sāmanta and was a worshipper of Paśupati. The other epithet बप्पपादानुध्यात occurs in all inscriptions both in Aṃśuvarman's as in the previous ones dated in Vikrama Samvat. It seems that Bappa was the name or an epithet of the founder of the royal family of Licchavis, which was mentioned with reverence by all, like that of Sivaji Chhatrapati mentioned both by the Peshwas and the Satara kings. Another similarity to the later parallel may be found in the fact that while the Licchavi kings issue their edicts from Mānagriha, Aṃśuvarman and his successors issue them from Kailasakūta These palaces must be located in different towns like Poona and Satara and the titular king ruled in one city while the real sovereign held his court in another.

Aṃśuvarman probably died in 646 A. D. His son Vibhuvarman (S. 45 or A. D. 651) also filled the same position. The king Śivadeva must have afforded assistance to the Chinese envoy at this time against the governor of Tirhut Inscription No. 8 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX) of S. 49 or A. D. 655 mentions a king Jishṇugupta and his heir apparent Vishṇu gupta. The change of name-ending from Varman to Gupta indicates, probably that these were other than descendants of Aṃśuvarman. But the latter is mentioned in this record with great respect and styled as mahārājādhirāja. This indicates that they must have been his successors and relations and they also issued orders from Kailāsakūta. This inscription mentions one Dhruvadeva as king and he must have succeeded Śivadeva.

We now come to Śivadeva the second a famous king, the father of Jayadeva. He has left three inscriptions. In the first dated S. 119=A. D. 725 he grants a land for the due worship of Śiveśvara temple founded by himself to a Pāśupatāchārya. In the next dated 143 S.=749 A. D. he assigns lands for the maintenance of Śivadeva Vihāra for Buddhists. This is characteristic of Nepal kings who

like their subjects were worshippers of Hindu deities and Buddhistic gods. Even Hiuen Tsang as above quoted has noted that Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples were close together. In the third inscription H. S. dated 145 or 751 A.D. the Dūtaka or messenger is Yuvaraja Vijayadeva who may be Jayadeva the next king himself as Pandit Bhagvanlal says or his elder brother predeceased. In this inscription we come across a new śloka not yet found in inscriptions charging future rulers against the resumption of the gift, a śloka which may be quoted here for the information of the curious reader.: "यथा चाह" (who says is not stated):

> ये प्राक्तनावनिभुजां जगतीहितानां धर्म्यां स्थितिं स्थितिकृतामनुपालयेयुः।
> लक्ष्म्या समेत्य सुचिरं निजभार्ययेव प्रेत्यापि वासवसमा दिवि ते वसेयुः॥

This Śivadeva married a daughter of a Maukhari king and a grand-daughter of Ādityasena, the Gupta king of Magadha. This shows that the Nepali Lichhavi dynasty was related to the ruling Kshatriya families in India. His son Jayadeva came to the throne between 145 and 153 H. S. in the latter of which year his long interesting inscription is dated. The first portion of it gives the pedigree of the Lichhavis and assigns them to the solar line. With regard to this claim we will add a separate note. But the Lichhavis were then in the eighth century A. D. certainly treated as solar line Kshatriyas; and this king himself married a daughter of Harshadeva king of Assam. Who ruled after Jayadeva we do not know. But the Vaṃśāvalis of Nepal give the chronology of early Nepal kings in such a different manner that it is not possible to give a connected line without the corroboration of inscriptions. It is, therefore, not possible to say when this line of Lichhavi kings ended. A new Rajput dynasty was certainly founded in the 9th century and with that two new towns viz. Kirtipura and Bhaktapura or Bhātgaon as it is now called were founded and also a new era called the

Nepali era dating from Oct. 879 A. D. (Śaka 801) was founded by this new dynasty. When this new dynasty came to power is also not certain ; but certain it is that it is not the first king of this line who founded the era. Dr. Wright mentions in the history of the preceding dynasty towards the end that a Brahmin who was considered an incarnation of Śankarāchārya came to visit the country to see how the rules and customs established by Śankarāchārya were observed. This fact we will discuss at length in our next volume to which it pertains. We may generally state that the Lichhavi line of kings came to end sometime between 759 A. D. the date of Jayadeva's long inscription and 879 A. D. the starting date of the Nepali era.

NOTES

(1) LICHHAVIS.

The Lichhavis, we have seen in Jayadeva's inscription dated Harsha Era 153 or A. D. 759, connect themselves with the solar line of Kshatriyas, alleging that Lichhavi was the name of a king eighth in descent from Daśaratha father of Rāma. This was of course in consonance with the prevailing notions of the 8th century A. D. and those preceding and following it when every king tried to assign his family either to the solar or the lunar race. We similarly find the Cholas of the south call themselves solar Kshatriyas in inscriptions noted in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pāndya-Chola are Dravidas pre-eminently from the times of the Mahābhārata. It seems that the kingly families in the outlying territories who accepted the Aryan faith were, even in the days of the Manusmriti (2nd century B. C.), conceded by the orthodox Aryans to be Kshatriyas, but a distinction was made and they were called Vrātya Kshatriyas, that is, Kshatriyas who had lost the Samskāras or discontinued Aryan religious ceremonies owing to the loss of contact with Brahmins. These Vrātya Kshatriyas Manu enumerates in the following śloka :—

झल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद्व्रात्यान्निच्छिविरेव च ।
नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च ॥ (मनु X, 22).

This śloka clearly contains the names of those outlying foreign peoples whose kingly families were admitted to be Vrātya Kshatriyas. The Dravidas are the well known Chola-Pandya-Kerala kings of the south, while the Nichhavis or Lichhavis and the Khasas are well known peoples of the north. (Nata, Karana and Zalla are lost to history while the Mallas are also lost probably, though Malla kingdoms are mentioned in the Mahābhārata list). Both the Khasas and Lichhavis are historical peoples and undoubtedly belong to the Mongolian race. The Lichhavis were rulers in India also and were allied to the Śākyas in which clan Buddha was born. They were included within Aryanism in most ancient times and a Lichhavi princess was the mother of the Gupta line of emperors of India. Perhaps she was a Nepal princess. It is not therefore strange that in later history the Lichhavis were practically treated as Kshatriyas and had marriage relations with most undoubted Aryan Kshatriya families like the Maukharis. The Khasas will be noticed in the next note.

(2) MINOR HIMALAYAN STATES.

Between Kashmir and Nepal there were then and there are even now many minor hill states in the Himalayan region. The chief in-

Nurpur :— The ancient name of this state was Udumbara. The chief city is now called Pathānkot which is situated in a narrow neck of land 16 miles in width which divides the valleys of the Bias and the Ravi. It is a great emporium of trade between the villages of Chambā and Kangra in the hills and Lahore and Jullandar in the plains". The name Pathān is also written Paithan which is clearly an abbreviation of Pratishthana and is the same name as that of Paithan on the Godavari.

The old name of the country Udumbara is mentioned in Varāhamihira's list of countries along with Kapisthala who are the *Kambistholi* of Arrian's Indica. In the Vishnu Purāna, the name is mentioned with Trigarta and Kulinda which are Kangra and Kulu of modern days. The present Rajas are called Pathāniyas and trace their origin to twenty generations back. Probably before that time the small kingdom was under Jālandhara. The local list of kings given by Devi Sāh Brahmin to Cunningham commenced with Jayapāla who is said to be a Pundir or descendent of Pandu i. e. a Tomar Rajput descended from Arjuna. The list extended from Jayapāla of about 1095 A. D. to Jaswantsing of 1846. These Rajas of Nurpur were of great note during Mahomedan times from the days of Raja Bakhtamalla who sided with Sikandur Sur against Akbar and who was put to death by Bairamkhan who placed his brother Takhtamalla on the *gadi* in his place.

Mandi :— The mountain course of the Bias is divided between the three kingdoms of Kulu, Mandi and Kangra; Kangra being lowest, Mandi in the middle and Kulu, highest up. The Mandi family is a younger branch of the Suketa family the separation having taken place about 1200 A. D. as the story of the family tells. But the copper-plate inscription of the temple at Nirmand gives four names all of whom take the suffix Sena which is peculiar to the family of Suketa and Mundi and these four correspond to certain names in the local list of kings. The date of the last (Samudrasena) of the four is probably Samvat 1227 or 1170 A. D. which agrees well with the succeeding 27 names upto the death of Bala Birasena in 1857.

The letters of the inscription at Nirmand are of the Gupta type which has misled some to believe that it must be dated in the 4th or 5th century A. D. " But these Gupta characters have been always in use in the hills between the Jumna and the Indus. They are found on the coins of the Kangra rajas so late as the time of Trailokya Chandra contemporary of Jehangir and in all inscriptions of Kashmir, Kangra, and Mandi whose king Jālamsena died in 1838 and the sati pillars in his reign bear the words Mahārāja in the same Gupta characters. In fact the Banias of Mandi still keep their accounts in Gupta characters and a Bania could easily read Samundra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad Pillar when shown to him." This illustrates what we

have said in the beginning viz. that things in the snows of the Himalayas are long preserved.

The genealogy given by Cunningham from the local list begins with Virasena whom he places about 765 A. D. from whom Samundrasena the recorder of the Nirmand inscription above noted is the 17th and his date is 1166 A. D. The genealogy comes down to the 45th generation in Vijayasena of 1851 A. D. The number of sati pillars here is very large indeed the last being so late as 1838 A. D.

Kulu and Simla states—In all these States especially between Nepal and Kangra are spread the Kunet people who are a bratch of the Khaśas. They are very numerous in these regions. These are, according to Cunningham, the ancient Kunindas mentioned by Varāha Mihira and the Kulindas mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Kulindas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata list of peoples also but as no locations or even directions are mentioned in that list it is impossible to decide whether these Kulindas are the Himalayan Kunets. When the Aryan immigration among them took place cannot be determined. But the following observations of Cunningham may be given here. " The Kunets and the Khaśas both profess to have been the masters of these hills before the Aryan immigration which *followed* the Mahomedan conquest. All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are called Mois or Mons and all agree that these were the Kunets themselves. The fact is that Mon is simply their Tibetan name while Kunind or Kunet is their Indian name" (Arch. S. R. Vol. IX p. 127). Further "in Dvāra Hāth in Garhwal there are a number of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles which the people attribute to the Mois or Mons. These I take to be the ancient Kunets before they were driven from Dvāra Hāth to Joshimath".

Here is a possible explanation of the riddle in the Purāṇas already noticed as to who the Monas were whose mlechha rule is said to follow that of the Śakas and Tukharas. It seems that these Monas of the Purāṇas were the very ancestors of the Kulindas who were a Tibetan people and who ruled for some time even in the plains of the Panjab and Cis-Sutlej provinces after the Kushans. They are said properly to be the ancestors of the modern Kunets because they were then unmixed mlechhas and the modern Kunets appear to be mixed Aryan and non-Aryan people or they may have been Khaśas proper who also are now mixed. But the Kunets themselves use that name (Mona) for the ancient possessors of these hills. These Cis—Himalayan Monas may also, Cunningham thinks, be connected with the Mundas of Eastern India; and strangely enough their name also appears in the Kaliyuga future kings of mlechha race. The following line from the Vishṇu Purāṇa has been quoted already. ततश्चाष्टौ यवनाश्चतुर्दश तुरुष्कारा मुण्डाश्च त्रयोदश एकादश मौना एते वै पृथिवीपतयः पृथिवी दशवर्षशतानि नवत्यधिकानि भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ (वि. अंश. ४ अध्या. २४. ५२). The period 1090 years is absurd but probably it represents the total of

the reigns even if they were contemporaneous. However, the Mundas and the Monas mentioned here may well be identified according to Cunningham with these Eastern Indian and Cis-Himâlayan peoples who may have become predominant after the Turushkas or Tukharas i. e. the Kushans were overthrown.

Whatever that may be, the Kunindas were certainly a noted people in the days of Varāha-mihira (500 A. D.) who mentions them among the north-west section of India peoples and who even mentions them separately as pointed out by Cunningham (p. 134 ditto) where the evil influence of bad planets on each set of triple Nakshatras is mentioned. "The following in regular order will perish viz. Pānchāla, Magadha, Kalinga, Avanti, Ānarta, Sindhu-Sauvira, Hārahūna, Madra, and finally, king of the Kunindas." Therefore there must have been in even Hiuen Tsang's days a Kuninda powerful separate kingdom. Cunningham identified their country with Srughna, the capital of which near Bāria on the west of the Jumna has been identified as Sugh by him. It comprised the greater part of the Kunet country, the remaining portion being divided between Kuluta or Kulu and Śatadru or Panjor. "This is the very district in which the coins of Amoghabhūti king of the Kunindas are found most plentifully. His date I have fixed approximately as B. C. 150 as three coins were found in company with 30 coins of the Greek king Apollodotus in a field near Jvālāmukhi (p. 134).*

The people of these kingdoms were then Buddhists as all Mongolian peoples generally were. Aryan influence must have therefore penetrated these hilly regions in ancient times. Who the kings were from the 7th to 12th century we cannot say. Certain it is that the Kunets the modern people of these parts are a mixed race "aboriginal Tartars by the mother's side but Aryans by the fathers," sons of Brahmins and Kshatriyas born of Kunet or Khaśa women who as mentioned in Nepal history were never unwilling to form such connections. Their progeny was and is treated as Kshatriyas; a fact which seems to western scholars inexplicable. But the simple explanation is that the Khaśas were from Manu's time treated as Vrātya Kshatriyas (see the śloka already quoted) and the marriage of Brahmins and Kshatriyas with them was never illegal in ancient times down even to the mediæval period. The progeny was of course treated as Kshatriyas. Marriage was formal but binding, the Kshatriya Khaśas being Vrātya. Hence there was no setting aside of Śastra in this custom which prevailed in the Himalayan regions where the emigrating Aryans, Brahmins and Kshatriyas having necessarily few women with them had perforce to take Kunet wives.

* Another ancient king of Srughna is mentioned in inscriptions at Barhut where Cunningham has found an inscription on a Torana or gateway mentioning a Srughna king Dhanabhūti, whose inscription also was found in Mathura and who Cunningham says was contemporaneous with Apollodotus and Agnimitra. The Kunindas thus had once extensive sway upto Barhut in C. -See Cunningham's Barh. pp. 127-130.

CHAPTER XIX

THE KINGDOMS OF THE PANJAB.

(We now come to the history of the Panjab-the land par excellence of the Indo-Aryans,—during the first portion of the mediæval Hindu period. That history is certainly very meagre and it is hence that we are taking it the last. It seems there were no powerful kingdoms in the Panjab during this period and the details too that are to be found in the records of adjoining countries are scanty and fitful. Yet, we may make an attempt to understand the history of this important part of India from such materials as are at present available.)

Hiuen Tsang mentions in the Panjab the following kingdoms or rather tracts that were independent kingdoms at one time ; for many of them in his time were subject to Kashmir. He mentions on coming into India proper after crossing the Indus:—1 Taxila (Rawalpindi) 2 Sinhapura (Salt range tract bounded on the west by the Indus) and 3 Uraśa (Haripur or Hazara). These kingdoms were formerly subject to Gāndhāra but were then under Kashmir. The fact appears to be that when the Hun empire fell, Kashmir made itself master of most of its Indian provinces. The seat of the Hun power was at Gāndhāra and it had even engulfed Kashmir; but Kashmir regained its independence under Pravarasena when Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśo-dharman of Mandsaūr about 500 A. D. Kashmir grew stronger still under the Karkota dynasty before the very time of the visit of Hiuen Tsang, i. e about 600 A. D. and ruled over Taxila, Sinhapura* and Uraśa. The next kingdoms mentioned by him are 4 Punach and 5 Rajapuri or Rajauri. These were also subject to Kashmir and were in fact normally so. The

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* Sinhapur of Hiuen Tsang has been identified with the Salt Range mountain region by Cunningham properly enough. He thinks that the capital was at Malliot where there are ruins. The fort is situated on a precipitous outlying spur of the Salt Range overlooking the plains at a height of about 3000 feet above the sea-level. The temple and gateway which are the only remains of antiquity here are in the Kashmirian style of architecture showing that the country as stated by Hiuen Tsang was in possession of Kashmir for some time. (Arch. S. R. Cunningham Vol V).

next kingdoms mentioned are 6 Tekka 7 Chinabhukti, 8 Jālandhara 9 Kulūta and 10 Śatadru. We do not know much of Chinabhukti which was probably only a province (Bhukti) and is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang because it was once inhabited by some Chinese princes. We know very little also of Kulūta and Śatadru where no kings are mentioned and which probably were subject to Kanauj in his time, for Hiuen Tsang mentions that the Sutlej was to the west of this Śatadru kingdom. We get some information about Tekka and Jālandhara from contemporary records which we proceed to relate.

Taking Jālandhara first, a name still surviving in the Jalandhara city we find the following short notice of it by Cunningham which we take from his "Coins of Mediæval India" (pp. 99-100) "The rich district of Jālandhara originally comprised the two Doabs lying between the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The capital of the country was Jālandhara and Kot Kangra was its chief stronghold. The name is derived from the Dānava Jālandhara killed by Śiva.* The dead demon stretched: it is said, across the Panjab. The Titan's mouth is said to be Jvālāmukhī and his feet are at Multan; and the part about Jālandhara is said to be his back and hence it is called Jālandhara Pītha a name slightly altered by Akbar to Jālandhara Bit. Another name for this country is Trigarta i.e. watered by the three rivers Ravi, Biās and Sutlej. Hemachandra in his Kośa says जालंधरास्त्रिगर्ताः स्युः and this name Trigarta is also still in use being handed down from the days of the Mahābhārata. The royal family of Trigarta believes that they are descended from Suśarman of the Mahābhārata fame (who with Duryodhana made a raid on Matsya cattle) and who fought in the great war against the Pāndavas. They are lunar race

*The story of the demon Jālandhara is given in the Padma Purāṇa. He is said to be a son of the Ganges by the Ocean and was blessed by Brahmā who asked the Ocean to recede and make room for him and the sea accordingly receded from the Himalayas The story is like the story about Konkan based on the geological aspect of the Panjab seashells being still found at the foot of the Himalayas. The idea of the demon-stretching across the Panjab is well explained by Cunningham by the running of the two rivers Sutlej and Ravi in ancient times parallel to each other upto Multān

'Kshatriyas and take the suffix of Chandra to their name all along. An inscription in the temple of Baijanath at Kiragrāma dated A. D. 804 names Jayachandra as the Rāja of Jālandhara. The Rājataranginī states that Prithvi Chandra the Raja of Trigarta fled before Śankarvarman. Kalhaṇa again mentions one Indra Chandra as the Raja of Jālandhara about 1040 A. D. Their coins show the same symbol viz: a horseman which symbol is used by most coins of the Panjab and of Kabul and Prithviraj of Delhi and even Mahomedan kings like Mahmud and Ghori copied it".

The kings of Trigarta were sometimes dependent and sometimes independent throughout Mahomedan times and we shall have to relate the taking of the precipitous fort of Kangra in the history of Mahmud's expeditions in the next volume. As in many hill kingdoms e. g. Assam, one and the same dynasty seems to have ruled over Jālandhara from the most ancient times down to the modern for reasons which we have frequently mentioned before. Jālandhara was lost as a kingdom in Mogul days though Kot Kangra still preserves the dynasty as one of local Rajas.

We go on to the Takka kingdom. Hiuen Tsang says that the former capital was Sialkot or Śākala and that Mihirakula ruled there. It appears that the Hun kingdom of Sialkot which was destroyed by Yaśodharman was subsequently seized by a new dynasty of Kshatriyas called Tāk or Takshaka. This name is mentioned even in the Chachanāma. The kingdom lay between the Ravi and the Chinab i. e. to the north of the Jālandhara kingdom. The description given by Hiuen Tsang accords well with this position but the remark that the Indus was on its border seems somewhat strange unless we believe that it kingdom stretched across the Panjab from the foot of the Himalayas to the Indus. The people he says were not Buddhists a fact which agrees well with the story of the persecution of the Buddhists by Mihirakula who was himself a worshipper of Śiva and who hated Buddhism thoroughly though he was a foreigner. The Tāks were of

course Hindus and remained so throughout their history. The famous chronicler of the Rajputs says that they were one of the 36 royal families of Kshatriyas but that they have left no trace of themselves now as they were entirely converted to Mahomedanism in Mahomedan times.

It is not quite clear if Thakkiya mentioned in the reign of Śankarvarman of Kashmir by Kalhaṇa is the same kingdom of Tāk; apparently this Tāk kingdom is referred to here though Kalhaṇa uses the word थक्किय which is not equivalent to Tāk (ताक). The थक्किय was assailed by Bhoja, king of Kanauj and was assisted by Śankarvarman. This is the only notice we get of the Tāk kingdom during two centuries. We do not know the name nor any detailed history of any king. That it was a powerful kingdom and did really extend up to the Indus is however clear from Hiuen Tsâng's description of Multan, which he visited on his return journey after Sind. Multan, he records, was then subject to Tekka; as also another kingdom to the north which he calls Pofato. After Hiuen Tsang's days i.e. after Harsha's death, when Chacha became the ruler of Sind, he conquered Multan and added it to his dominions. In fact many parts of the Panjab were then either subject to Kashmir or to Sind, only two kingdoms being independent viz. Tāk or Tekka and Jālandhara in the eastern portion of the province.

We may here abstract an interesting account of Multan from Cunningham's Archeological Survey Report Vol. V pp 115-120: "The ancient fortress of Multan is situate about 4 miles on the left bank of the Chinab river. Originally it stood on an island in the Ravi which joined the Chinab in ancient times below Multan but which now joins it 32 miles above it. The Bias river also flowed in ancient times in an independent channel to the south of Multan though now it joins the Sutlej far higher up. In approaching Multan from Sind, Chacha had thus to cross first the Sutlej and then the Bias and he reached the left bank of the Ravi at Sikka which was a fort just opposite Multan on the south bank of the Ravi. The Chachanama always mentions Sikka-Multan which were on opposite banks of

the Ravi. In Chacha's days the kingdom of Multan was ruled by a Tāki and was subject to Tāki in Hiuen Tsang's time. The Tāki ruler must have remained under Chacha as tributary for we find when Mahamad Kasim invaded Multan in 712 A. D. there was one Bajhra Taki ruler in Sikka who opposed him but who eventually left the place and crossed the Ravi over to Multan. Multan fell before Kasim and remained a Mahomedan kingdom throughout the mediaeval period.

Though this ends the history of Multan we may relate the history of the sun temple in Multan, a little further. Multan was also called Sāmbapur and the temple of the sun there was said to have been built by Sāmba a son of Shri Krishna when he was afflicted by skin disease. The sun is the god who is supposed to cure all skin diseases including leprosy and the temple of the sun at Multan was visited by Hindus chiefly from Sind and the Panjab but also from other parts of India. The temple was very rich. It is described by Hiuen Tsang as also by the Chachanama; by Biladauri again who writing about 815 A. D. says "The people circumambulated it and shaved their heads and beards". "The temple" says Istakheri in 975 A. D. " is situated in the most populous part of the city in the market of Multan between the bazaar of ivory dealers and coppersmiths. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quandrangular posture on a throne made of bricks and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some say that the body is made of wood. The eyes of the idol are precious gems and the head is covered with a crown of gold." Some time after 976 A. D. Multan was captured by a Karmatian chief of Zelem, son of Shaiban, when the priests of the temple were massacred, the statue of the sun god was broken to pieces and the temple itself was converted into a mosque.

"But the zeal of the Hindus and the avarice of the Mahomedan rulers (for they profited from the offerings of the devotees) restored the sun god and a temple seems to have been built near the old one (as everywhere else in

India e.g. at Benares, the Visvesvara temple and at Ujjain, the old Mahākāla temple or at Ayodhya). Therefore although when Abul Rihan visited the city of Multan there was no temple nor statue, the worship of the sun god was flourishing when Idrisi wrote in 1130. Apparently in his time the Ravi had changed its course and it was now a little river—only an overflow from it in the rainy season. Kazwini in 1263 gives the same account but adds that the great mosque was *near* the temple i.e. in the very middle of the fort. The temple is described by the French traveller Therenot who visited the place in A. D. 1666. He describes the idol as clothed in red leather with a black face and two pearls for eyes. This was before Aurangzeb had begun his bigoted persecution of the Hindu religion. The final destruction of the temple and the idol is rightly attributed to him and the temple and the sun god exist no more. It may be added that this worship of the sun is Indo-Aryan and not borrowed from the Persians, as some believe. In the first place the Persians do not worship idols and the idol of the sun can only be Hindu. Its covering red leather, its ruby eyes and the halo crown round its head with its curing skin diseases are also Hindu ideas. Even on coins the sun is represented in this way. Thus says Cunningham* (Arch.S.R. Vol.V. p.122) describing

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* Cunningham describes the fort of Multan minutely. There are no remains of ancient structures, for in Multan stone is not available and buildings are built only of bricks. He therefore in order to find the history of the fort sank a well until undisturbed 'mother' earth was reached about 40 feet below the surface all of which was the accumulation of ages and he has given a most interesting description of the layers of debris found. "The accumulation of debris seems to be about one and a half feet per century. Two coins were discovered at a depth of about 10 to 12 feet, the upper one of Kaikobad A. D. 1284 the lower one of Sāmanta Deva of Kabul A. D. 900 or 950. Bricks found increase in size as one goes deeper. This shows that the ancients used larger bricks. But the two interesting discoveries made in this Archaeological well were the great masses of ashes found at two different depths. The upper one was about 3 feet thick and found below 18 ft. The position of this deposit corresponds with the period of Mahamad Kasim's conquest of Multan in 712 A. D. when the fort was stormed and burnt. The other layer of ashes was found at a depth of 32 feet which corresponds nearly with the period of Alexander's capture of the capital city of the Malloi. It is possible that this layer may be the remains of some conflagration that attended the massacre of the inhabitants committed by Grecian soldiers enraged at Alexander's wound. Even below this layer of ashes were found a shoemaker's sharpening stone and a copper vessel filled with about 20 coins square in shape but unrecognisable, being entirely coroded". The last proves that coins were current in India long before Alexander's invasion (p. 128).

a coin "The reverse is a bust of a god which Princep refers to as the Mithra of the Persians, but which I believe to be the Multan sun god called Āditya. The head is surrounded by rays after the Indian fashion and quite different from the head dress of the Persian Mithra. (This coin Cunningham believes to belong to Dewaij founder of the dynasty which ruled in Sind before Chacha about the year 500 A. D.).

A second coin bears the same head and the name of Khushru Parvej of Persia showing that some parts of Sind were conquered by that king as even the Chachanama states. And the third coin bears the same sun god's head. On the obverse is a legend with the words "king of Multan" at the end and on the reverse the rayed head of the sun with the name in Nāgari of "Shri Vāsudeva" and "Panchan Zabulistan". This shows according to Cunningham that a king by name Vāsudeva ruled in Multan sometime very near the days of Chacha. He was probably the same as the Tāki mentioned in the Chachānamā.

Multan was known also for another temple and thence called Pehladpuri. The city was also called Kāśyapapura noticed in Greek histories as Kaspeira. Kāśyapa is supposed to be the father of Hiraṇya-Kaśipu and it is believed this demon ruled here and wanted to kill his son Pralhāda for worshipping Vishṇu. The temple of Pralhāda at Multan was long famous, an annual mela being held about it on Narasiṃha's birth-day. This temple was blown up by an explosion of a powder-magazine in its vicinity about 1859 A. D.

NOTE

WHY THE PANJAB IS STILL INDO-ARYAN

The meagre details we have recorded regarding the three kingdoms of Tekka, Jālandhara and Multan raise the question why in the Panjab which is the undoubted home of the Indo Aryans and which has always been warlike, no flourishing Hindu kingdoms are found in this mediaeval period of Indian history. The fact appears to be that since the invasion of Alexander that province has usually been under the rule of foreign races. Indeed the Panjab has been the buffer province of India, always trampled down by conquering hordes from the north-west. When Alexander came he found here many kingdoms and peoples, more warlike than those he had met with in Asia thitherto. About 70 peoples are mentioned in the Panjab by Arrian as having opposed Alexander. The ancient Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata too mention many kingdoms in the Panjab; some names still surviving to the mediaeval period. Gāndhāra, Takshaśilā, Kekaya, Madra, Trigarta, Mālava Kshudraka, Sibi, Ambashtha, Yaudheya, and many other warlike Kshatriya tribes had thus kingdoms in the Panjab when Alexander invaded India. Most of them were conquered and many Kshatriya warriors were massacred. Invasion after invasion followed Alexander's conquest. For a few years only the Panjab was subject to Chandragupta and Aśoka but since 200 B. C. Bactrian Greeks (200-100 B. C.) Śakas (100 B. C.—100 A. D.) Kushans (100-300 A. D.) and finally Hun (400 A. D.) invaded India and ruled in the Panjab. Thus while Alexander had almost destroyed all Kshatriya kingly families, the Panjab was devoid of native rule from 200 B. C. to about 500 A. D. When the Hun power was overthrown native rule again established itself; but there were no powerful Kshatriya kingly families to assert themselves again and the province was therefore chiefly divided between Kashmir and Sind, while Gāndhāra to the west of the Indus and a seat of Hun power was, as we have seen, taken possession of by the powerful Kshatriya family of Kabul. Taxila and Sinhapur were in the apossession of Kashmir, and Multan and Pofato were in that of Sind their boundaries being conterminous. In eastern Panjab there were as stated above the two kingdoms of the Tekka which had seized the Hun kingdom of Sākala or Sailkot and Jālandhara.

How did then the Panjab remain Indo-Aryan as ethnology and tradition unmistakably prove, down to the present day? That is a most interesting question which rises here. Notwithstanding foreign rule for 1200 years in pre-Mahomedan times and Mahomedan rule for nearly 700 years again from 1000 A. D. to 1700 A. D. Panjab still is par excellence the land of the Aryans as Sir H. Risley has found. He has clearly shown that it is in the Panjab and Rajputana alone that the population is Indo-Aryan almost from the highest to the lowest strata. To understand this condition of things correctly we must go back to the Vedic period and trace the history of the Indian Aryans down to modern times.

When the Indo Aryans came to the Panjab in their migrations to the south in Vedic or Avestic times they found a land just to their hearts' desire, a land plain and fertile devoid of hills and ravines. These Aryans were an agricultural people and coming from the plains of Central Asia they were probably averse to living in a mountainous country. They liked a land which Manu designates Jāngala and which he describes as a fertile plain devoid of forest and with a dry climate like their Central Asian habitat. They found the Panjab just as they had wanted, but as the Avesta says it was extremely hot and full of serpents. The aboriginal Dravidian population here seems to have been sparse and as the Aryans settled and took to cultivation, that population receded southwards. It is hence that the Panjab is populated from the highest to the lowest strata by an Aryan population throughout its different layers. It may be remarked here that a country cannot be said to be inhabited by a people unless the cultivators belong to the same race as the rulers. In the Panjab the cultivators or the Vish are Aryans as has been said over and over again and it is hence that the Panjab is a land of the Indo-Aryans par excellence. The lowest strata or labourers and menials were probably of the Dāsa or Dravidian race but the province down to Alexander's conquest was generally full of the Aryan population which in this fertile land as in America in a short time must have multiplied and filled the whole country.

This people belonged to the first race of Aryan invaders or the solar race according to our view. The second race of Aryan invaders the lunar race people came subsequently through Gilgit into the valley of the Ganges like a wedge in the Indo-Aryan land then extending from Gāndhāra to Ayodhyā along the foot of the Himalāyas, a tract which has a milder climate than the parts west-wards. The new invaders could not expand either in the Panjab or in Oudh and hence spread southwards along the banks of the Jumna as far as the Vindhya range of mountains i.e. from Jubbulpore and Ujjain in the south to Allahabad and Ghazipur in the north. In this tract, however, the aboriginal population was denser and stronger and it remained practically the cultivator of the soil except in Kurukshetra, the tract where the lunar Indo-Aryans first settled. The condition of this southern tract, therefore, differed from that of the Panjab as the people consisted of two layers of population, the lower Dravidian and the higher Aryan. While the warriors and preists and traders were Aryan the cultivators and the artisans and labourers were Dravidian. The Aryans in this tract intermarried to a larger extent with the lower Dravidian population and hence grew up that mixture of Aryan and Dravidian races which characterises the population of the present United and Central provinces (as noted by Sir H. Risley.)

In Bengal the Aryans went later. Only some Brahmins went of themselves as religious teachers and some were even called

by native kings. But into the Mahārāshtra the Indo-Aryans went in larger numbers. For as we have said they were fond of a dry open fertile plain and the plains of Mahārāshtra were just of this kind. There was a forest there no doubt but the country was not very hilly and the Indo-Aryans settled in this land with great enthusiasm. These were of course Aryans of the second horde of invaders viz. of the lunar race and with their *peculiar tendency* they inter-married with the local Dravidian population. That population, was sparse and not thick. Hence the Indo-Aryans though they became mixed to some extent in Mahārāshtra imposed their language and their religion easily upon the people. Hence also it is that Mahārāshtra including Vidarbha or Berars is *notably* a land of the Indo-Aryans though not *par excellence* yet to large extent. As remarked above a land can be said to be inhabited by a people when the agriculturists belong to that people. In Mahārāshtra next after the Panjab the cultivators are Aryans or rather mixed Aryans; and hence it is that the yeomanry of Mahārāthtra has signalised itself so often in the history of India as a martial people.

To the further south i. e. in the Madras Presidency the Dravidian population was thick along the sea-coast and much more advanced in civilization than their brethren in the rest of the country. Brahmins alone, therefore, migrated into this land or were specially invited. Though they gave their religion to the people they could not give their language to them but on the contrary adopted the language of the latter. In Konkan on the west coast though the cultivators are Dravidians that Dravidian population was sparse and hence the Aryans imposed their language upon it but on the east coast i. e. in Āndhra, the Dravidian population was too numerous to be impressed and the Indo-Aryans chiefly mixed Aryans, eventually adopted the language of the people.*

Such in short is the history of the Aryan settlement of India down to the days of the last recasting of the Mahābhārata, which as we have shown elsewhere was contemporaneous with the invasion of Alexander. India was certainly fully populated in his days. It contained even then as the Mahābhārata Bhīshmaparva chap. 9 itself states, *an Aryan*, a *mixed-Aryan*, and a *Mlechha* population. The Aryans were in the Panjab and Oudh. The mixed Aryans were in U. P., C. P. C. I. and Mahārāshtra and in Aparanta (or modern Konkan) and even in Āndhra which the Mahābhārata list of countries includes among the Bharatakhanda peoples. To the south of this were the Dravidian Mlechhas (Pandya, Chola, Kerala, and others) and beyond India to the north were the other Mlechhas, Śaka, Barbara, Kāmboja and so on. It is necessary to add that Bengal (Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Odra) was also included among Indian countries and had probably mixed Aryan populations. Let us now see what happened when inroads of foreign

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* We may say that even in Āndhra the language of the higher classes was Indo-Aryan for a long time, see note on the subject.

Mlechhas began to come, in the wake of Alexandre's invasion and almost destroyed all the Kshatriya kingdoms in the Panjab. We know from verified history that though after Alexander the Panjab was for a time included in the Maurya empire of Pātaliputra yet from 200 B. C. successive waves of foreign Mlechhas came into the Panjab and established strong kingdoms there. First came the Bactrian Greeks, then the Śakas, then the Yue-chi who under Kanishka had a wide empire over lands as well beyond the Panjab to the north as extending southwards into the present United Provinces. Naturally all Aryan ruling families in the Panjab were either destroyed; or were forced southwards. The Mālavas and other warlike independence-loving Kshatriyas in this way migrated into the plains of Central India. But the settled population of the Panjab remained Indo-Aryan as before. As water poured over a pot full of water cannot enter or disturb the water within, so the successive waves of invaders passed over the head of the settled population of the province. It no doubt carried away the ruling families but could not disturb or destroy the settled population of the country.

To understand this phenomenon we must try to realise how conquering nations and peoples in later times have moved and fared. In the primitive stages of the human evolution no doubt, *settling* expeditions of men, women and children are found and these usually settle in vacant or almost vacant tracts. In later history, however, *conquering* peoples usually come into tracts already fully peopled and settle therein not as *cultivators* but as superimposed *ruling peoples*. The cultivation of land and other work of labour and art are left to the already settled people. The conquerors generally reside in capital cities and towns and disperse over the country not into each village but over large divisions as Jagirdars or barons. This is what happened for instance when the Norman conquest of England took place. This is what we see actually happening in India under the British conquest of the country. Even when the conquering people are one in religion with the people already settled, though not in race, the conquering people remain above the country's old population like a separate layer. Living examples of this are met with even in the India of to-day. The Marathas of Scindia. Holkar or Gaikwar or the Moguls of the Nizam have not mingled with the population of their territories and they still remain as distinct layers superimposed, living mostly at the capital and in the larger district towns, as officers or greater landlords. Now it will be clear to anybody that such a population does not by the very laws of nature thrive. When the land is vacant, the population increases by leaps and bounds and within a couple of centuries fills the land. But a superimposed population enjoying the *luxuries* of a ruling people does not increase For instance, the Maratha population of the Indore or Baroda State or the Mogul population of Hyderabad is practically stationary and has not increased though near two centuries have passed since their rule was established over their respective territories.

Now consider what will happen supposing their rule is overthrown The superimposed layer of the ruling people separate as it is, will disappear without impressing the people in the least. The English, for example, will completely disappear if they lose their rule in India ; for they not only do not increase but do not even make India their home. The Marathas of Baroda or the Moguls of Hyderabad will mostly retire to their respective home lands and those that have made the new country their home will remain if they do remain as a distinct people. Their number may even dwindle away under the adverse circumstances of their condition. The hypothetical case which we have here described was what must have actually happened in the Panjab during the successive waves of conquest over it. The Greek Bactrian rule was overthrown by the Śakas and left no remnant of its population. So was the succeeding Śaka rule overthrown by Vikramāditya of 57 B.C. and left no trace in northern India and the Panjab. Even the Kushans who enjoyed a long extensive rule in the Panjab and adjoining lands from 150 A. D to later than 300 A. D. left no remnant. The Kushans even if numerous were overlords spread in cities and towns and could not have increased in population and when overthrown must have left the land or dwindled away. The Huns came in about 400 A. D. were supreme for about a hundred years and were overthrown about 500 A D. Their Gandhāra kingdom went to the Kshatriya kings of Kabul as we find from Hiuen Tsang and their second kingdom in the Panjab about Sākala was changed into the Tekka kingdom. A Huna kingdom appears to have been left in India somewhere, for a Huna Kshatriya family is mentioned later on But they did not impress the rural population which remained uncontaminated. And even if some remained the facility afforded by the Indian social tendency towards the formation of subcastes bound by interdiction of marriage must have prevented all intermixture of races. If we therefore consider carefully how foreign conquests in historical times affect populations fully established, we can see that the *later conquering* peoples, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Kushans and the Huns have disappeared rather than that the *original settling* Indo-Aryan population fully settled in the Panjab could have disappeared leaving the later Scythic peoples in the country as many Indian antiquarians seem to believe. This is the true explanation of the undoubted ethnic fact that the population of the Panjab is still almost pure Indo Aryan though successive waves of conquest from the Greek down to the Mogul have from time to time passed over it.

Two important inevitable consequences, however, followed from these successive foreign invasions and foreign rules. The people of the Panjab Indo-Aryan as they are lost that love of independence which always everywhere characterises the Aryan people. Strong in physique and warlike and brave in their temperament, the people of the

Panjab yet rarely asserted themselves in later history and became independent. The Indian theory of politics explained in the first book also came in to aid viz. that kingship is given by God to those only who have performed austerities in former lives; that the people have nothing to do with the form and the personnel of government and that their dnty is to obey rulers established by divine will. The warlike people of the Panjab, therefore, fretted very little if the Arabs ruled from Multan or the Kashmirians ruled from Sri Nagara. Many Kshatriya families no doubt still remained in the land as overlords of one village or groups of villages. Nay, many Rajput families appear to have come back into the Panjab from Rajputana and elsewhere as we shall have to show in the next volume, during the period of native rule between 500 and 1000 A. D.; bnt they never tried to establish new Hindu kingdoms, and remained content with their petty overlordships. We have often said a Kshatriya or rather Rajput (for the word Kshatriya or Khatri in later times became degraded in the Panjab and applied to Kshatriyas taking to mercantile occupations) must have some place, a petty village at the least, where he may be called a rajā and bowed to by a barber or a tenant As even the Bhagavadgita observes, Iśvarabhāva or the attribute of lordship belongs to theKshatriya by his very nature. Yet in the Panjab even among the Rajputs this natural instinct does not seem to have developed into a strong irrepressible desire for establishiug self-rule. The people for a long while had become accustomed to foreign rule and did not care who ruled them so long as they were left in the enjoyment of their hereditary lands and villages with their hereditary customs and manners.

The other point of importance to be noticed is that during the first period of 1200 years' subjection to foreign rule in the Panjab, there was no difference of religion between the rulers and the ruled. The foreign invaders were with one exception Buddhists and they too were half Hindu and half Buddhists. There was, therefore, no bitterness of religious difference added to the gall of foreign rule during this period. The Huns of Mihirakula were not Buddhists but were Śaivites. But that too was in response to and in consonance with the changed sentiment of the people. A reaction had already set in against Buddhism and Mihirakula did not offend the majority of his subjects when he persecuted the Buddhists as related bitterly by Hiuen Tsang. Under Mihirakula too, therefore, there was no religious difference between the people and their foreign rulers and it is hence perhaps that the warlike sturdy people of the Panjab remained reconciled to foreign rule. The tendencies generated by this long subjection to foreign rule consequently were too strong to be suppressed by even the difference in religion when Mahomedan conquest under the Turks of Mahmud came over the land in 1000 A. D. How it affected the people little we shall see in our next volume.

THE END.

APPENDIX

Some Inscriptions in the original

(1) APHSAD STONE-INSCRIPTION OF ĀDITYASENA

(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 42 p. 200.)

ॐ आसीद्दन्तिसहस्रगाढकटको विद्याधराध्यासितः ।
सद्वंशः स्थिर उन्नतो गिरिरिव श्रीकृष्णगुप्तो नृपः ॥
दृप्तारातिमदान्धवारणघटाकुम्भस्थलीः क्षुंदता ॥
यस्यासंख्यरिपुप्रतापजयिना दोष्णा मृगेन्द्रायितम् ॥ १ ॥
सकलः कलंकरहितः क्षततिमिरस्तोयधेः शशांक इव ॥
तस्मादुदपादि सुतो देवः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति ॥ २ ॥
यो योग्याकालहेलाऽनतदृढधनुर्भीमबाणोघपाती ।
मूर्तैः स्वस्वामिलक्ष्मीवसतिविमुखितैरीक्षितः साश्रुपातम् ॥
घोराणामाहवानां लिखितमिव जयं श्लाघ्यमाविर्दधानो ।
वक्षस्युद्दामशस्त्रव्रणकठिनकिणग्रन्थिलेखाच्छलेन ॥ ३ ॥
श्रीजीवितगुप्तोऽभूत् क्षितीशचूडामणिः सुतस्तस्य ॥
यो दृप्तवैरिनारीमुखनलिनवनिकाशिशिरकरः ॥ ४
मुक्तामुक्तपयःप्रवाहशिशिरात्तुंगतालीवन–।
भ्राम्यद्दन्तिकरावलूनकदलीकाण्डासु वेलास्वपि ॥
योतत्स्फारतुषारनिर्झरपयःशीतेऽपि शैले स्थितान् ।
यस्योच्चैर्द्विपतो मुमोच न महाघोरः प्रतापज्वरः ॥ ५ ॥
यस्यातिमानुषं कर्म दृश्यते विस्मयाज्जनैर्घन ।
अयापि कोशवर्धनतटात् प्लुतं पवनजस्येव ॥ ६ ॥
प्रख्यातशक्तिमाजिषु पुरःसरं श्रीकुमारगुप्तमिति ।
अजनयदेकं स नृपो हर इव शिखिवाहनं तनयम् ॥ ७ ॥
उत्सर्पद्वातहेलाचलितकदलिकावीचिमालावितानः ।
प्रोयद्धूलीजलौघभ्रामितगुरुमहामत्तमातंगशैलः ॥
भीमः श्रीशानवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिंधु–।
र्लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥ ८ ॥
शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने ।
अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः सत्पुष्पपूजितः ॥ ९ ॥
श्रीदामोदरगुप्तोऽभूत्तनयस्तस्य भूपतेः ।
येन दामोदरेणेव दैत्या इव हता द्विपः ॥ १० ॥
यो मौखरेः समितिषूद्धतहूणसैन्या ।
वल्गद्घटा विघटयन्नुरुवारणानाम् ॥
सम्मूर्छितः सुरवधूर्वरयन्ममेति ।
तत्पाणिपंकजसुखस्पर्शाद्विबुद्धः ॥ ११ ॥
गुणवद्द्विजकन्यानां नानालंकारयौवनवतीनाम् ।
परिणायितवान् स नृपः शतं निसृष्टाग्रहाराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥
श्रीमहासेनगुप्तोऽभूत्तस्माद्वीराग्रणीः सुतः ।
सर्ववीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरि वीरताम् ॥ १३ ॥
श्रीमत्सुस्थितवर्मयुद्धविजयश्लाघापदांकं मुहु–।

र्थस्याद्यापि विबुद्धकुन्दकुमुदक्षुण्णाच्छहाराततम् ।
लौहित्यस्य तटेषु शीतलतलेषूत्फुल्लनागद्रुम-।
च्छायासुप्तविबुद्धसिद्धमिथुनैः स्फीतं यशो गीयते ॥ १४ ॥
वसुदेवादिव तस्माच्छ्रीसेवनक्षोदितचरणयुगः ।
श्रीमाधवगुप्तोऽभून्माधव इव विक्रमैकरसः ॥ १५ ॥
––– ˘ अनुस्मृतो धुरि रणे श्लाघावतामग्रणीः ।
सौजन्यस्य निधानमर्थनिचयत्यागोद्धुराणां ध (व ?) रः :
लक्ष्मीसत्यसरस्वती कुलगृहं धर्मस्य सेतुर्दृढः ।
पूज्यो नास्ति स भूतले ˘˘˘ –––– सद्गुणैः १६ ॥
चक्रं पाणितलेन सोऽप्युदवहत्तस्याऽपि शार्ङ्गं धनु–।
र्नाशायासुहृदां सुखाय सुहृदां तस्याप्यसिर्नन्दकः ॥
प्राप्ते विद्विषतां वधे प्रतिहत (–) तेना प [–– ˘ –] ·
––– ˘ ˘ – ˘ – धरिम [––] न्याः प्रणेमुर्जनाः ॥ १७ ॥
आजौ मया विनिहता बलिनो द्विपन्तः ।
कृत्यं न मेऽस्त्यपरमित्यवधार्य वीरः ॥
श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवाञ्छया च ।
–– ˘ – ˘˘˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –– ॥ १८ ॥
श्रीमान् बभूव दलितारिकरीन्द्रकुम्भ–।
मुक्तारजःपटलपांसुलमण्डलाग्रः ॥
आदित्यसेन इति तत्तनयः क्षितीश ।
चूडामणिर्द्धु ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ॥ १९ ॥
––– ˘ ˘ – ˘ मागतमरिध्वंसोत्थमात्तं यशः ।
श्लाघ्यं सर्वधनुष्मतां पुर इति श्लाघ्यं परां बिभ्रती ॥
आशीर्वादपरंपरा चिरसकृद् –– ˘ –– ˘ –।
––– ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘˘˘ ––– ˘ यामासभ ॥ २० ॥
आजौ स्वेदच्छलेना ध्वजपट शिखया मार्जितो दानपङ्कम् ।
खड्गं क्षुण्णोन मुक्तां शकल सिकातिलौ कृत्य –– ˘ –– ॥
–––– ˘ –– ˘˘˘˘˘˘ – मत्तमातंगघातम् !
तद्गंधारुष्टसर्पद्वहलपरिमलभ्रान्तमत्तालिजालम् ॥ २१ ॥
आबद्धभीमविकटभ्रुकुटी कठोर– ।
सग्राम – ˘˘˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –– ॥
–– ˘ – ˘ ˘ व वल्लभभृत्यवर्ग –।
गोष्ठीषु पेशलतया परिहासशीलः ॥ २२ ॥
सत्यभर्तृमता यस्य मुखोपधानतां स्री ।
परिहास – ˘ ––––––– ˘ – ˘ – ॥ २३ ॥
–––– ˘ –ज्ञः सकलरिपुबलध्वंसहेतुर्गरीयान् ।
यात्रिंशोत्खातघातश्रमजनितजडोऽप्यूर्जितस्वप्रतापः ॥
युद्धे मत्तेभकुम्भस्थल ˘˘˘˘ – ˘ –– ˘ –– ।
–– श्वेतातपत्रस्थगितवसुमतीमण्डलो लोकपालः ॥ २४ ॥

आजौ मत्तगजेन्द्रकुम्भदलनस्फीतस्फुरद्दोर्युगो ।
ध्वस्तानेकरिपुप्रभाव ˘ ˘ – – –यशोमण्डलः ॥
न्यस्ताशेषनरेंद्रमौलिचरणस्फारप्रतापानलो ।
लक्ष्मीवान् समराभिमानविमलप्रख्यातकीर्तिर्नृपः ॥ २५ ॥
येनेयं शरदिन्दुबिम्बधवला प्रख्यातभूमण्डला ।
लक्ष्मीसंगमकांक्षया सुमहती कीर्तिश्चिरं कोपिता ॥
याता सागरपारमद्भुतरसा सापत्न्यवैरादहो ।
तेनेदं भवनोत्तमं क्षितिभुजा विष्णोः कृते कारितम् ॥ २६ ॥
तज्जनन्या महादेव्या श्रीमत्या कारितो मठः ।
धार्मिकेभ्यः स्वयं दत्तः सुरलोकगृहोपमः ॥ २७ ॥
शंखेन्दुस्फटिकप्रभाप्रतिसमस्फारस्फुरच्छीकरम् ।
नक्राक्रान्तचलत्तरंगविलसत्पक्षिप्रनृत्यत्तिमि ॥
राज्ञा खानितमद्भुतं सुतपसा पेपीयमानं जने – ।
स्तस्यैव प्रियभार्यया नरपतेः श्रीकोणदेव्या सरः ॥ २८ ॥
यावच्चन्द्रकला हरस्य शिरसि श्रीः शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षसि ।
ब्रह्मास्ये च सरस्वती कृतं – – – ˘ – – ˘ – ॥
भोगे भूर्भुजगाधिपस्य च तावियावद्घनस्योदरे ।
तावत्कीर्तिमिहातनोति धवलामादित्यसेनो नृपः ॥ २९ ॥
सूक्ष्मशिवेन गौडेन प्रशस्तिर्विकटाक्षरा ।
– – –मामिता सम्यग्धार्मिकेण सुधीमता ॥ ३० ॥

(2) DEO-BARNAK* INSCRIPTION OF JĪVITAGUPTA II

(Corp. Ins. Vol. VII No. 46 p. 213)

.. ...नमः । स्वस्ति शक्तित्रयोपात्त-जय-शब्दान्महानौहस्त्यश्वपत्तिसंभार दुानवाराज्जयस्कन्धावारात् गोमतिकोट्टकसमीप वासकात् .... श्रीमाधवगुप्त तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्यां महादेव्यां श्रीश्रीमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतः श्री-आदित्यसेनदेवः । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्यां महादेव्यां श्रीकोणदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीदेव-गुप्तदेवःतस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातःपरमभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्यां महादेव्यां श्रीकमलदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीविष्णुगुप्तदेवः. तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु ध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्यां महादेव्यां श्री इज्जादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम ... परम-भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीजीवितगुप्तदेवः कुशली नगरभुक्तौ वालवीवैषयिकभी-...वा......पद्रलिक्षान्तःपाति वारुणिकग्रामसगोष्ठान कुलतलावाटक-दूत सीमाकर्मकर-मया......तक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्यमहा...क्षतिक-महादण्डनायक-महाप्रतिहार-महासा. ......प्रमत्तसा ...... कुमारामात्य-राजस्थानीयोपरिक ...... धिक-चोरोद्धरणिक-ण्डिकदाण्डपाशिक ... क ... ल्गिवल-व्यापृत-किशोरवा टकग्रामः......दू

* This word is spelt as Baranark by the Corp. Ins. It seems however that rk must be changed into k in Prakrit. Moreover in the original Sanskrit name there is no r here.

...तू...यणिकग...पतिकर्म.........रसक.........तू-आस्मत्पादप्रसादोपर्जावि-नश्च प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्-महत्तर कुक्षिपुर .... विज्ञापित-श्रीवरुणवासि-भट्टारक-प्रनिबद्ध-भोजक-सूर्यमित्रेण उपरिलीखित......ग्रामादिसंयुतं परमेश्वरश्री बालादित्यदेवेन स्वशासनेन भगवश्री वरुण वासिभट्टारक.........क...... वपरिवाहक ...... भोजकहंसमित्रस्य समापत्त्या यथाकालाध्यासिभिश्च एवं परमेश्वरश्रीशर्ववर्मे ....भोजक-ऋषिमित्र ...... यतकम् एवं परमेश्वर श्रीमद्-अवन्तिवर्मणा पूर्वदत्तकमवलंब्य......एवं महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर...............शासनदानेन भोजक-दुर्धरमित्रस्यानुमोदित ....तेन भुज्यते तदहं किमपि......एवं ...मतिमान............आनुपामोदितमिएति सर्वसमा-पना एता.........पयु ....वरुणवास्यायतनं तदनु दत्तम्...त्यक्ष......सोद्रंगं सोपरिकरं सदशा-पराधपञ्च..............

(3) AŚIRGADH SEAL OF SARVAVARMAN
(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 47 p. 219.)

चतुस्समुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापन-प्रवृत्तचक्रश्चक्रधर इव प्रजानामार्तिहरः श्रीमन्महाराजहरिवर्मा। तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो जयस्वामिनी-भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यवर्मा। तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो हर्षगुप्ताभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराज-ईश्वरवर्मा। तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात उपगुप्ता-भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्रीईशानवर्मा तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो लक्ष्मी-वतीभट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराजाधिराजश्री-शर्ववर्मा मौखरिः।

(4) VALABHI INSCRIPTION OF DHARASENA
(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 38, p. 164.)

ओम् स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् वंदितपल्लीवासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणाम् मैत्रकाणाम् अतुलबलसंपन्न-मंडलाभोग-संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात् प्रतापोपनतदानमा-नार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागात् अनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटा-र्कात् अव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशात् मातापितृ-चरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेष-कल्मषः शैश-वात् प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुः एव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः तत्प्रभा-वप्रणताराति चूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परि-पालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुद्धिसम्पत्तीभिः स्मरश-शाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशान् अतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवत् अपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पाद-चारि इव सकलभुवनमंडलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनः तस्य सुतः तत्पाद-नखसंततविसृतजान्हवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूप लोभात् इव आश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैः गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिता-खिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिनिसृष्टानाम् अनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानाम् अपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघात-कारिणाम् उपप्लवानाम् दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योः एकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मी-परि-भोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्त्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्य सुतः तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मंडलः समरश-तविजय-शोभासनाथमंडलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान् सपीठोद्व्ढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्वविद्या-परावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिः अपि सर्वसुभाषितलवेन अपि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः

समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयः अपि सुधरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिः धर्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः तस्य अनुजः तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणा इव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयाम् अपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्ताम् परमभद्रः इव धुर्य्यः तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन् खेदसुखरतिभ्याम् अनायासितसत्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नछायोपगूढपादपीठः अपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिम् एकाम् परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैः अपि अरातिभिः अनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिः अशेषैः दोषैः अनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशल्यातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मी-स्वयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरश्रीखरग्रहः तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसम्पदा त्यागौदार्येणच विगतानुसन्धाना शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागः अपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिः अकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदंडविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमंडलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वर श्रीधरसेनः तस्य अनुजः तत्पादानुध्यातः सचरितातिशयसकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साध्यानाम् अपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणाम् मूर्तिमान् इव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुः इव स्वयम् अभ्युपन्नः प्रकृतिभिः अधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमानानिर्वृत्तिहेतुः अकलंककुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिः सततोदितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धम् आगमपरिपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेअनुरूपम् आदेशम् ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारः साधूनाम् राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोः उभयोः अपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमः अपि करुणमृदुहृदयः श्रुतवान् अपि अगर्वितः कान्तः अपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्यः अपि निरसिता दोषवताम् उदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थनप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परमाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनः कुशली सर्वान् एव यथासम्बध्यमानकन् समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वः संविदितम् यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय उदुम्बरगह्वरविनिर्गताय नक्कायहारनिवासिदशपुरत्रैविद्यसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रमाध्यंदिनवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारी ब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि–तथागत्तिकाग्रहारनिवासिउच्यमानचातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्याम् मालवके उच्यमानविषये चन्द्रपुत्रकग्रामे दक्षिणसीम्नि भक्तिशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रम् यस्य आघाटनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणहाडडिकाग्रामककुटः दक्षिणतः देवकुलपाटकग्रामककटः अपरतः वीरतरमंडलिमहत्तरक्षेत्रमर्यादा उत्तरपश्चिमकोणे निर्गडी तडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमंडली एवम् एतत् चतुराघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तिशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रम् सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकरणीयम् सभूतवातप्रत्यायम् धान्याहिरण्यादेयम् सदशापराधम् सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकम् सर्वराजकीयानाम् अहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयम् पूर्वप्रत्तदेव ब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविंशतिरहितम् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसमेत्पर्वतसमकालीनम् पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यम् उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मलयो निसृष्टः यतः अनयोः उचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतोर्वा केश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तित-

व्यमागामिभद्रनृपातीभिः अपि अस्मद्वंशजैः अन्यैः वा अनित्यानि ऐश्वर्याणि अस्थिरम् मानुष्यम् सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलम् अवगच्छद्भिः अयम् अस्मद्दाय अनुमतव्यः परिपालयितव्यः च इति उक्तं च बहुभिः वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानि इह दारिद्र्यभयात् नरेन्द्रैः धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्मुक्तमाल्य प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनः आददीत॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः। आच्छेता च अनुमन्ता च तानि एव नरके वसेत् इति । दूतकः अत्र राजपुत्रः श्रीखरग्रहः लिखितमूद्दमूसन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतादिविरपतिव त्रभट्टिपुत्रादिविरस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्तोमम ॥

(5) AMSUVARMAN'S INSCRIPTION OF S. 39 or 635 A. D.

(Ind. Ant. IX p. 170.)

ॐ स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनान्निशि निशि चानेकशास्त्रार्थविमर्शावसादितासद्दर्शनतया धर्माधिकारस्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनतिशयं मन्यमानो भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रयंशुवर्मा कुशली पश्चिमाधिकरणवृत्तिभुजो वर्तमानान् भविष्यतश्च यथार्हं कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितं भवतु भवतां पशुपतौ भगवाञ्छरभोगेश्वरोऽस्मद्भागिन्या श्रीभोगवर्मजनन्या भोगदेव्या स्वभर्तृ राजपुत्रशूरसेनस्य पुण्योपचयाय प्रतिष्ठापितो यश्च तद्दुहित्राऽस्मद्भागिनेय्या भाग्यदेव्या प्रतिष्ठापितो लडितमहेश्वरो यश्चैतत्पूर्वजैः प्रतिष्ठापितो दक्षिणेश्वरस्तेषामधः शालापाञ्चालिकेभ्यः प्रतिपालनायातिसृष्टानामस्माभिः पश्चिमाधिकरणस्याप्रवेशेन प्रसादः कृतो यदा च पाञ्चालिकानां यत्किञ्चन कार्यमेतद्गतमुत्पत्स्यते यथाकालं वा नियमितं वस्तु परिहापयिष्यान्ति तदा स्वयमेव राजभिरन्तरासनेन विचारः करणीयो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा प्रवर्तिष्यते तं वयं न मर्षयिष्यामो भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्धर्मगुरुतया पूर्वराजकृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा दूतकश्चात्र युवराजोदयदेवः संवत् ३९ वैशाख शुक्लदिवा दशम्याम् ॥

(6) MAYIDVOLLU INSCRIPTION IN PRAKRIT OF PALLAVA KING SIVASKANDAVARMAN (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 86)

(कां)चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो भारदाय सगोत्तो पलवानं शिवखंडवम्मो धंनकडे वापतं आनपयाति अम्हेहि दानी अम्हवेजयिके (धं)मायुबलवधनिके य बम्हनानं अगिवेससगोत्तस पुवकोटुजस आगिवेस सगोत्तस गोनंदिजस अंधापति (थि)यगामो विरिपरं अम्हेहि उदकादि संपदत्तो एतस गामस विरिपरस सव बम्हदेय पारे(हा)रो वितराम अलोन(खा)दकं अरठसं(वि)नायिकं अपरंपरा बलिव(दं) अभडपपेसं अकूरचोलक विनासि खतासंवासं एतेहि अनहि च सब बम्हदेय मजादाय सबपरिहारेहि परिहारितो परिहरथ परिहारावेथ च जो अम्हसासनं आतिछितून पीला बाधकरेज्जा (वीतं)कारावेज्जा वा तस अम्हो सारीरं सासनं करेजामो सवछरं दसमं १० गिम्ह पखो छटो ६ दिवसं पंचमी ५ आनति सयाति दत्ता पट्टिका.

THE END.